

THE IMPERIAL CHAMBER AT LUXOR

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This study was begun as a research paper for a seminar at the University of California at Berkeley in 1972 and was completed in 1973 as a master's thesis under the direction of David H. Wright. It does not, therefore, evaluate in detail the conclusions of H. Kähler's book *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina* (Berlin, 1973) and J. Deckers' article "Die Wandmalereien des tetrarchischen Lagerheiligtums im Ammon-Tempel von Luxor," *RQ*, 68 (1973), 1-34. They will be mentioned only in the footnotes.

WITHIN the great temple of Ammon at Luxor, a building of the time of Amenophis III, one of the central rooms of the inner temple was remodeled during the Roman period and decorated with frescoes. Unfortunately, this fresco decoration, already severely damaged through the collapse of the roof and subsequent exposure to the weather, was almost completely destroyed by the Egyptologists toward the end of the nineteenth century, when they took down most of the remaining plaster to reveal the underlying Egyptian reliefs. Up until 1953, most scholars, like Ebers, Jullien, and von Bissing,¹ thought that this room had served as a Christian church and that the frescoes were representations of Christian saints; only P. Lacau had cautiously suggested otherwise.² Then, in an article published in *Archaeologia*, U. Monneret de Villard reconsidered this room and proposed a new interpretation of its function.³ Basing his study on Lacau's discussion of the Latin inscriptions found in the temple area of Luxor and on a series of newly discovered watercolors by the nineteenth-century scholar J. G. Wilkinson, Monneret de Villard showed that the alterations had been made not in the fifth or sixth century but in Roman times and suggested that the hall itself had been a temple of the imperial cult. At the end of his article he emphasizes once again the importance of these watercolors and the intention of his article: "The primary purpose of this article has been to bring Wilkinson's water-colours to the notice of students; to banish once and for all the legend of the church within the temple at Luxor by showing the transformed hall's true date and purpose." What the present study sets as its task is to complete the work that Monneret de Villard began: to interpret the frescoes on the walls and in the niche, which will lead in turn to a reconsideration of the function of the room.

THE DIOCLETIANIC CASTRUM

According to the excavation reports and to Monneret de Villard's own observations, during the end of the third century A.D. the temple of Ammon at Luxor was enclosed by a fortress wall and turned into a Roman *castrum*⁴ (fig. A). The buildings of the Egyptian temple defined the camp's center,

¹ G. Ebers, *Ägypten in Bild und Wort*, II (Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1880); M. Jullien, "Le culte chrétien dans les temples de l'antique Égypte," reproduced by H. Munier in *BSA Copt*, 6 (1940), pages relevant to Luxor, 163–64; F. W. von Bissing, "Altchristliche Wandmalereien aus Ägypten," *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf, 1926), 181–88.

² P. Lacau, "Inscriptions latines du temple de Luxor," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 34 (1934), 45–46.

³ U. Monneret de Villard, "The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor," *Archaeologia*, 95 (1953), 85–105.

⁴ G. Legrain, "Rapport sur les nouveaux travaux exécutés à Louqsor," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 17 (1917), 49–75; G. Daressy, "Notes sur Louxor de la période romaine et copte," *ibid.*, 19 (1919), 159–75; Lacau, *op. cit.*, 32; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 96–98.

lying on the north-south axis; the rest of the camp extended on either side of them. Unfortunately, only the northern half of the fortifications and the buildings within it have been excavated, and the excavation reports are rather superficial. Yet there is enough information to establish the date of the camp satisfactorily.

On the northwest side, between the Nile and the temple, the bases of four large columns (marked A, B, C, D, on fig. A; cf. fig. 2) came to light in 1916/17 during the excavations of Legrain. They marked the crossing of two colonnaded roads, one on a north-south axis leading to a northern camp gate (E), the other running perpendicularly from east to west, leading directly to the western side entrance of the courtyard of Ramses II and to a gate at the west wall of the camp (G), which opened to the bank of the Nile. Lacau, who has reconstructed their Latin inscriptions, has shown that they were dedicated to the Tetrarchs Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus by a certain *Aurelius Reginus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) provinc(iae) Thebaid(os)* and should date from A.D. 300.⁵ Each column must have borne a statue of one of the Tetrarchs. The inscriptions face the street that has the east-west orientation, which indicates, as would be expected, that the colonnaded road coming from the nearby quay was the main thoroughfare. Legrain mentions in his report that fragments of the columns were found on which laurel wreaths had been incised and small holes drilled, so that the columns must have been decorated with metal ornaments.⁶ Fragments of acanthus capitals were also discovered. The four columns together seem to have formed a single monument, a tetrastyle, which must have been very similar to the tetrastyle in Antinoë, where all the columns were dedicated to Alexander Severus⁷ (fig. 1). The columns of the tetrastyle seem to fall under the category of historic or commemorative columns celebrating an important event or a victory.

On the east side of the temple, in a more central position, Legrain excavated another crossing point, whose two roads divided the estimated extension of the *castrum* in two. Here, too, the crossing point is marked by a set of four column bases, forming a tetrastyle (I, J, K, L) very similar to that on the west side. The dedicatory inscriptions face the north-south axis of the road, the main road on this side of the camp. They are dedicated to the two Augusti Licinius and Galerius, and to the two Caesars Constantine and Maximin Daia by a certain *Aur(elius) Maximinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux Aeg(ypti) et Theb(aidos) utrarumq(ue) Lib(yarum)*. They can thus be dated from 308/9; more precisely, the columns must have been erected after November 308, the date on which Galerius recognized Licinius as Augustus, but before May 309, when Constantine became Augustus.⁸ According to Lacau, the columns on this side seem to have been smaller and less well executed than those on the western side, copying the earlier group.⁹ The western tetrastyle occupies

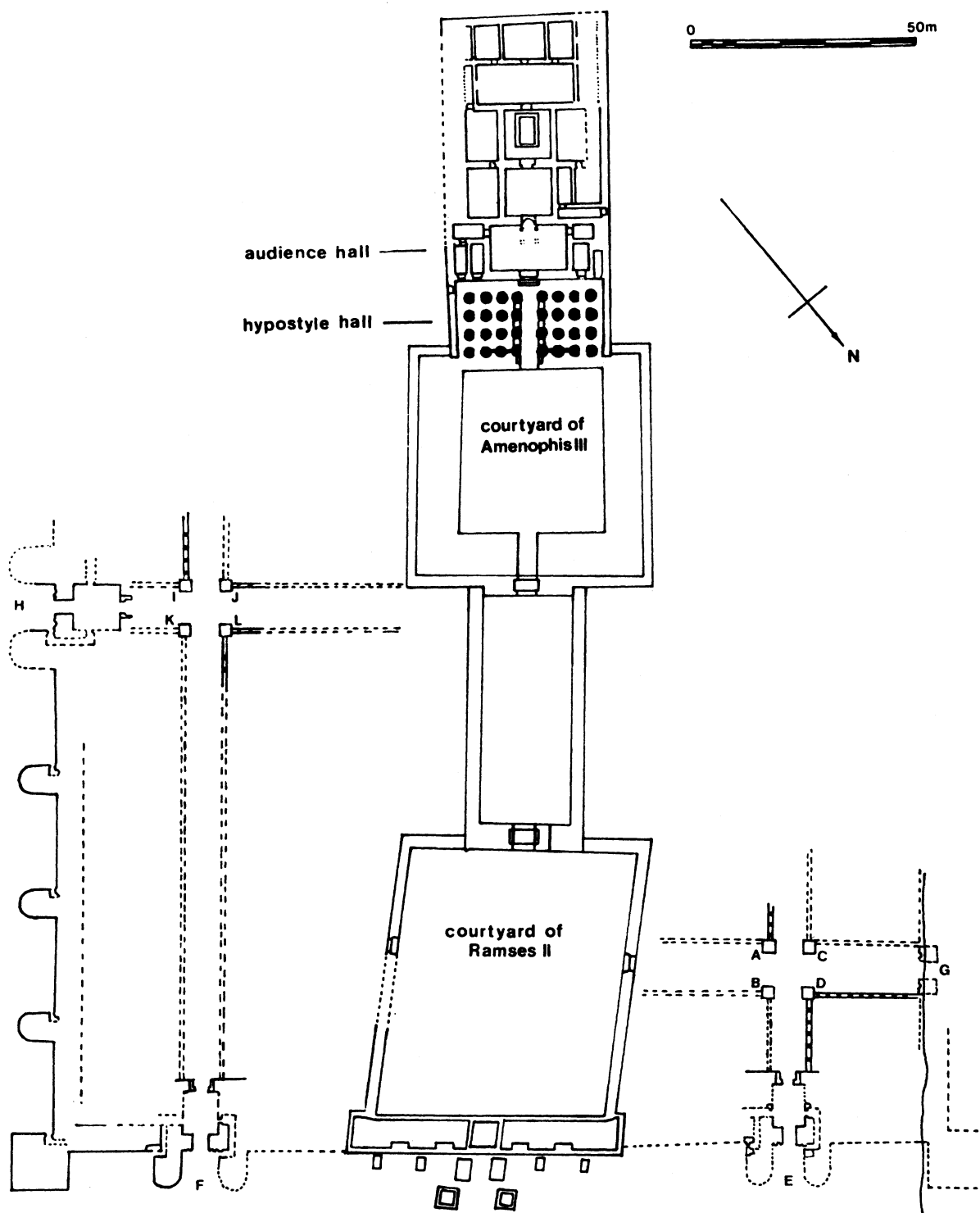
⁵ Lacau, *op. cit.*, 32.

⁶ Legrain, *op. cit.*, 67.

⁷ Lacau, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 32 note 3.



A. Luxor, Temple of Ammon with Roman Modifications (drawing: after P. Lacau)

the more important spot of the camp, near the river, so that, even without the inscriptions, its construction and location would have sufficed to show that it was the first and primary monument. The tetrastyle inscriptions would suggest that the temple site was converted into a *castrum* around 300, during the Diocletianic period.¹⁰

THE PAINTED CHAMBER

Within the southern part of the temple of Ammon, after the courtyard of Amenophis III and the pronaos or hypostyle of the inner temple, there is the hall which was remodeled during the Diocletianic period. It was originally the first of the series of halls which made up the temple proper.¹¹⁻¹² It is rectangular in shape, with its main entrance in the north wall. The original eight columns, which stood in the room and probably supported a flat roof, were dismantled in Roman times and the individual drums were laid out on the original floor in order to support a new, higher pavement. Steps were also added in front of the main entrance on the side of the adjoining old pronaos or hypostyle hall (figs. A and 3).

The hypostyle hall itself received some alterations. It consisted originally of thirty-two columns, which divided the interior space into a main central nave and eight lateral smaller aisles. During the Roman period, the columns on either side of the central nave were connected with walls, but with small central openings which functioned as doors. It is not very clear from Monneret de Villard's description how high the walls were built, nor what he means exactly by the "central doors, or rather central openings."¹³ Nevertheless, through this modification a more direct central passage was created which led to the steps and entrance of the raised chamber.

This passage points directly to the center of the southern wall of the raised chamber, where a major architectural modification signals the changed function of the room. In Pharaonic times, there had been a large doorway in the center of this wall, which led to another of the chambers finally ending in the holiest chamber of all, the sanctuary of Ammon. This doorway was completely blocked up by masonry, and a niche almost five feet deep was constructed on this side of the chamber, within the thickness of the wall (fig. 4).¹⁴

Two columns of syenite, a reddish-pink granite-like stone, flank the front of the niche, resting on rectangular bases which have a small step on their inner faces. Each column carries a composite capital. They stand almost a

¹⁰ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 97.

¹¹⁻¹² *Ibid.*, 85-89. The description of the architecture as well as the measurements are based on Monneret de Villard's published findings. These are the only data of this kind available. The hall measures 17.45 by 10.5 m. A small drawing on page 53 in Wilkinson's sketchbook (fig. 13) gives the dimensions of the room: 56.1 × 34.6 feet. The Egyptian temple does not lie perfectly on a north-south axis, but follows the northeasterly course of the Nile.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 86. On the architectural modifications, see also J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 2 (Paris, 1955), 848.

¹⁴ For a detailed description of the architectural modifications of the doorway, see Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 86-88. The niche begins at 1.25 m. above the new floor level. The width of its opening is 3.05 m. and the height 5.50 m.

half meter away from the south wall, and the distance between them is 2.80 m. There were originally four columns standing before the niche; the two that are no longer in position were discovered by Monneret de Villard lying on the ground on the west side of the temple. He also found one capital of exactly the same style and workmanship as the two inside the hall. It was immediately evident that these pieces belonged together; with the discovery of two sockets cut in the masonry of the rear wall at a height corresponding to that of the top surfaces of the capitals, Monneret de Villard was able to reconstruct the position of the two extra columns in the room. All four columns formed the supports of a square canopy in front of the niche. The sockets on the wall served to help secure this free-standing ciborium.

Ciboria of this type, which are open on four sides and carried by four or more columns or by other types of supports, were not unusual in antiquity, particularly in the later period. Such a ciborium gave shelter to either a throne, a grave, an altar, a statue, or any other object of particular importance, and could stand either outside or in an enclosed room. The canopy was sometimes flat, but was usually rounded, domed rather than barrel-shaped.¹⁵ The dome's exterior was often fitted with gables, which gave it a pyramidal form. While Monneret de Villard posits such a canopy for the ciborium at Luxor,¹⁶ if it terminated in a dome it would have conformed better with the arch of the niche in front of which it was placed. The ciborium might be imagined as very similar to those portrayed on the ivory diptych panels of the Empress Ariadne in the Museo Nazionale in Florence and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 5).

This set of careful and unusual architectural alterations—the raising of the floor, the emphasizing of the passage leading to the chamber, and especially the construction of the niche with the ciborium in front of it—seems to be the result not of haphazard remodeling but of a well-thought-out plan which gives this chamber particular importance within the surrounding structures.

THE FRESCOES

THE WILKINSON WATERCOLORS

The walls of the chamber, which had been decorated with low reliefs in the Pharaonic period, were covered some centuries later with two layers of plaster. The first layer was coarser and thicker to cover the reliefs, the second thinner and finer in order to carry the paintings.¹⁷ In the latter part of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth, it was generally assumed that the set of figures in the niche represented Christian saints, and that, accordingly, the destroyed frescoes had been part of an early Christian or Coptic church. In print, only Lacau expressed skepticism, pointing out that the figures were far more like emperors than saints.¹⁸ One scholar, however,

¹⁵ *RAC*, III (1957), s.v. "ciborium," cols. 67–76; *ibid.*, I (1950), s.v. "baldachin," cols. 1150–53.

¹⁶ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 103.

¹⁷ Lacau, *op. cit.*, 45 note 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

the Egyptologist J. G. Wilkinson, who had visited Luxor toward the middle of the nineteenth century before the frescoes on the walls had been taken down, recognized their date as Roman. He habitually drew views of the sites he visited while traveling in the Near East, and in one of his unpublished sketchbooks (now MS XXXI in the Griffith Institute at Oxford) Monneret de Villard discovered nine watercolors of what Wilkinson identified as a Roman hall. The watercolors cover pages 51–62 of the Oxford manuscript.

During the summer of 1972, I had the opportunity to study Wilkinson's watercolors of Luxor. Although they are few in number, they provide the most complete information we have about this chamber, and I think that the program of the entire room can be reconstructed with their assistance. The watercolors contain a general view of the room from the northwest side and several details of the better preserved areas of the frescoes on the walls and in the niche. The general view covers two pages of the album (pp. 51–52; my figs. I [color], 7). More than half the room is shown in the general view, which has facilitated the placing of some of the details found among the sketches. From the left, it reproduces a major part of the north wall, showing the main entrance and parts of the wall on either side of it. It continues with the whole of the east wall, the south wall up to and including the niche, and ends with a small section on the western side of the niche. The hall is identified by notes at the bottom of the left page: "Luxor, Tle [temple] of Roman times, the chamber old, apse added by Romans. Of the 400 or 600. If the name of Diocletian was in the sculptures, they are older."

The walls seem to have been divided horizontally into three sections, the scenes bordered on both sides by ornament, although only traces of the ornamentation of the upper frieze remained in Wilkinson's time.¹⁹ The lower frieze consists of a wide band of painted *opus sectile* (fig. 6).

The major part of the walls is covered by the figurative scenes themselves. The importance of the south wall is clearly marked by the niche, which had panels on either side. As the height of the walls is uncertain, we do not know what point the panels reached, though from the watercolors it is clear that the painted surface went higher than the capitals which carried the baldachin and higher than the scenes on the east wall. This is visible on the left side of the south wall and, for reasons of symmetry, I assume it to have been likewise on the other side facing the niche.

THE PROCESSION ON THE WALLS

The scene which covers the whole length of the east wall (pp. 51–52, 62; my figs. I, III [color], 7, 9) shows soldiers leading their horses by the bridle, armed with lances and circular shields; at least one has his sword hanging from his waist. No one seems to wear a helmet or a cuirass, which would have been an indication of a battle or other martial situation. They are dressed in short tunics with decorative borders, a type of dress that by the end of the third century had

¹⁹ There are traces of what may be garlands on the upper east wall.



I. Pages 51-52, General View (see also fig. 7)



II. Pages 55-56, South Wall to right of Niche (see also fig. 8)
Oxford, Griffith Institute, Wilkinson XXXI, Chamber



III. Page 62, East Wall, detail (see also fig. 9)



IV. Page 60: Left: South Wall, detail. Right: South Wall, Niche. Figure of Caesar at extreme right (see also fig. 12)

Oxford, Griffith Institute, Wilkinson XXXI, Chamber

become very popular, perhaps through the wave of oriental influence.²⁰ On the arch of Galerius in Salonica, Galerius is shown wearing this type of tunic with a decorative medallion.²¹ Fine examples of such tunics are depicted in numerous versions on the mosaic floors of the imperial villa at Piazza Armerina; the soldiers in the Great Hunt, for example, wear this kind of tunic with the *sagum* (fig. 15). The Great Hunt soldiers also have the same short-cropped hair and carry the same rounded shields; the shields at Luxor show some indication of having been divided, like those at Piazza Armerina, into sections of different colors. The stance of the soldiers—with legs spread wide and the weight placed on the forward one—appears often in the scenes at Piazza Armerina; its occurrence also at Luxor suggests a convention of the period for representing figures in motion. All the soldiers in the scene at Luxor are walking in the same direction, that is, from left to right, trying to keep their horses under control.

The little that has survived from the north wall is enough to help us reconstruct the program of the frescoes. Above the *opus sectile* on either side of the entrance, the surviving remains of the scenes (pp. 51—52, 54, 57; my figs. I, 7, 6) show human feet in various types of *campagia*, the shoe worn with the everyday military habit under Diocletian.²² On the left-hand side, facing the door from within the room, there are five feet moving toward the west. On the right-hand side another figure, or what remains of it, is walking toward the east, following the same direction as the main group of soldiers on the adjacent east wall (fig. 14, right side). From these details we can conclude that a procession started on either side of the main door. In my opinion, the two processional lines were not of equal length; I will point out later that their meeting point was not the center of the southern wall.

Wilkinson made several more detailed drawings of the south wall; I will first discuss those that deal with the eastern part of this wall (pp. 54, 59, 60). The drawing on page 60, although fragmentary, can be reconstructed as being part of the south wall, close to the southeast corner (figs. IV [color], 10, 12). It has a note: "Luxor (left of apse)." The two standing figures on page 54 also belong to the south wall, but immediately left of the niche (fig. 14, left side). This is indicated in the watercolor both by a note saying "apse," and by the wide border and shadow suggesting the niche. Thus, of the south wall panel east of the niche, a part of the extreme left and a part of the extreme right side remained when Wilkinson drew them.

Page 60 illustrates two rows of figures which are placed at different levels in order to make the lower row appear to be in front of the upper.²³ The lower row shows four figures and, next to them, the foot of a fifth, where Wilkinson has added a note saying that he had not put it in its proper place: "this foot should be rather lower." On page 59 he drew a possible reconstruction of the

²⁰ A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *RM*, 50 (1935), 60.

²¹ K. F. Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique* (Paris, 1890), 13.

²² Alföldi, "Insignien," 65.

²³ J. Deckers, "Die Wandmalereien des tetrarchischen Lagerheiligtums im Ammon-Tempel von Luxor," *RQ*, 68 (1973), 11, pl. 4a, shows most probably a third row of figures.

position of the fifth figure and of the arrangement of the feet of the rest of the group, with the remarks "probably" and "possible position" (fig. 10). Of this group only the heads of the two central figures and parts of their embroidered tunics are in good condition; not much more can be identified precisely. They appear to hold their arms in front of them at about waist level, and, judging from the first person on the right, their hands are probably covered by the *paludamentum*, which seems to be thrown over the left shoulder and clasped with a fibula on the right.

On the second row above there are also only four figures remaining, arranged parallel to those below. Their heads were already destroyed at Wilkinson's time, but parts of their bodies were better preserved, so that we can obtain a better picture of the subject represented. They are dressed in tunics, which in this case are richly decorated with large circular or oval medallions. Their belts are encrusted with jewels, and they wear the *paludamentum*. From their costumes, these figures on the south wall at Luxor can be identified as high military officials or state dignitaries, in contrast to the soldiers and horsemen on the east wall who wear a simpler costume. The same distinction by costume is also made in many scenes on the mosaics at Piazza Armerina (fig. 16).

As do the figures in the first row, those in the second extend their arms in front of them; here we can hazard a guess as to what they are carrying. The first and the third figures from the left, with covered hands, seem to hold objects, which may well have been taller had the fresco been less destroyed. Monneret de Villard differentiates these two objects, identifying the first as a belt, the second as "a cylindrical object that can hardly be defined more closely."²⁴ However, it seems unlikely that a belt would have been held upright from waist to shoulder; further, the two objects are very similar. Cylindrical poles decorated in silver for carrying military standards and similar objects are common features in processions. Here is a description from Dexippus (third century): Κατόπιν δὲ βασιλέως τὰ σήματα ἦν τῆς ἐπιλέκτου στρατιάς, τὰ δὲ εἰσιν ἄετοί χρυσοὶ καὶ εἰκόνες βασιλῆιοι καὶ στρατοπέδων κατάλογοι γράμμασι χρυσοῖς δηλούμενοι. ἃ δὴ σύμπαντα ἀνατεταμένα προὔφαινετο ἐπὶ ξυστῶν ἡργυρωμένων.²⁵ Such *signa* are represented on the spiral column of Trajan on which statues of the military gods are also carried (Mars, Jupiter, and Hercules).²⁶ On the monuments of the Tetrarchic period, *signa* and *dracones* appear in several scenes; on the arch of Galerius, for example, in the scene of Galerius' *ingressus* or *adventus* into an eastern city *signa* and *vexilla* are carried not only by the soldiers but also by the citizens who come out of the city gate to greet him. Another example is found on the processional side of the Decennial base from the monument erected in 303 in the Forum in Rome for the *vicennalia* cele-

²⁴ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 94; Deckers, *op. cit.*, 13, accepts this identification.

²⁵ *De bellis scythicis*, Bonn ed. (1829), 12, line 8 ff.: "Then came the imperial standards of the selected army, which are golden eagles and imperial *imagines* and lists of legions made visible by golden letters. All these were raised to be seen in silvered lances."

²⁶ A. von Domaszewski, "Die Religion des römischen Heeres," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 14 (1899), 1, 2.

brations of Diocletian and Maximian (fig. 17).²⁷ Here four *signa* represent the army. At their top ends are standards, or *vexilla*, beneath which there are, respectively, statuettes of the eagle on a thunderbolt, a Victory with a palm branch and a laurel wreath, an eagle and the *genius populi Romani*, and, finally, another Victory. On the arch of Constantine, a monument erected about ten years later, in the relief representing Constantine's *profectio* small statues of the *dei militares* are carried on poles by the front group of the procession²⁸ (fig. 19).

The *hasta aurata* presents a further possibility. From the fourth century, it is mentioned occasionally that specific groups accompanying the emperor carried such *hastae* in processions on festive occasions.²⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus reports that Constantine II, while entering Rome, was seated on a *currus* and surrounded by *dracones*, *hastarum aureis gemmatisque summitatibus illigati*.³⁰ In the *Historia Augusta*, when the procession of Gallienus is described, *hastae auratae* are mentioned together with *vexilla*, *dracones*, and *signa templorum*.³¹ The *labarum* of Constantine must also have been similar to the "gilded lance"; Eusebius describes it as follows: ὑψηλὸν δόρυ χρυσῷ κατημφισμένον κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον, σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον.³²

It is not possible to say what the remaining figures in the scene would have carried. That their hands and parts of their forearms were veiled is clear. The act of the *manus velatae* came to Rome, as an act of religious significance, from the court of the Achaemenids, transmitted through Hellenistic cults and court ceremonial. The earliest instance of the performance of this act in court ceremonial dates from the time of Julianus.³³ Together with the proskynesis, it was an act of submission required in the presence of the emperor in Diocletian's firmly fixed order of ceremony. It was intended to distinguish the emperor's authority from that of a normal mortal, and to mark his unapproachable and superhuman quality.

As mentioned before, the panel on the south wall is taller than that on the east (figs. I, 7). Its mode of representation seems to have been closer to the principles of late Roman composition than that on the east wall. In the latter, three-dimensional space is achieved by having the horses approach from the background, their bodies shown in three-quarter view and their heads, in some cases, turned almost 180 degrees. On the south wall, the figures, placed uniformly in two rows, form an almost rhythmical pattern; the spatial depth being suggested by their schematic, vertical arrangement. As we know from other

²⁷ H. P. L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal auf dem Forum Romanum," *RM* (1938), 18-19.

²⁸ *Idem*, "Sol Invictus Imperator," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 14 (1935), 106-8. The panels of the pedestals of the arch of Constantine represent military men carrying small statuettes of the *dei militares* in postures similar to those at Luxor.

²⁹ E. W. Merten, *Zwei Herrscherfeste in der Historia Augusta* (Bonn, 1968), 88.

³⁰ *History*, XVI.x.7, Loeb, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 245.

³¹ VIII.vi: *hastae auratae altrinsecus quingenae vexilla centena praeter ea, quae collegiorum erant, dracones et signa templorum omniumque legionum ibant.*

³² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I.xxxi, GCS, 7 (Leipzig, 1902), 21.

³³ A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *RM*, 49 (1934) (hereafter, "Zeremoniell"), 34.

examples, such as the reliefs of the arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna or the arch of Constantine, the more important a figure is, the more hierarchical and formal its representation. At Luxor, the group of high military or state officials on the south wall moves in the same direction as the soldiers; it can be understood to have belonged to the same procession.

As I have mentioned before, page 54 gives a detail of the south wall, just east of the niche: two figures in quite good condition are shown full length, together with the foot of a third (fig. 14, left side). They are dressed in the embroidered tunic and the long *chlamys* or *paludamentum*. Here a further detail can be seen—fringes at the lower border. The same long fringed *chlamys* is found on the arch of Galerius, where Diocletian himself wears it in the sacrifice scene.³⁴ Another detail that suggests the function and importance of one of these figures in the procession is the staff held in his left hand, which is also veiled. Officials carrying this type of *baculus*, or “bastone a fungo,” as L’Orange calls it,³⁵ are represented in other Tetrarchic monuments. In the large scene of the Great Hunt at Piazza Armerina this baton is carried by several high functionaries, who are distinguished by their elaborately decorated costumes and placement within the scene (figs. 16). A group of two—most likely three originally—is placed on the central axis of the scene, where, from an elevated position, they direct the loading and the unloading of the wild animals.³⁶ The “bastone a fungo” is a sign of their distinction and an attribute of their authority. On the relief of the *suovetaurilia* on the Decennial base of the year 303 in the Roman Forum (fig. 18), a man wearing a toga and carrying the same baton in his left hand leads the procession of animals; a man leading a similar sacrifice procession and holding a staff appears in a small frieze of the *Ara Pacis*.³⁷ On the Decennial base, the procession begins on either side of the *vota* panel, goes round the base, and merges on the side of the sacrifice; the man with the baton and the *victimarius* next to him turn their heads left to face the procession. If we compare this man with the figure in Luxor, we can interpret the latter as the leader of the procession; this explains both why he faces the other participants and why he carries the *baculus*.³⁸

³⁴ Kinch, *L’arc de triomphe de Salonique*, pl. v.

³⁵ H. P. L’Orange, “Nuovo contributo allo studio del Palazzo Erculio di Piazza Armerina,” *Acta IR Norv.* 2 (1965), 87.

³⁶ H. Kähler, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina* (Berlin, 1973), 33–35, reconstructs this group of figures as Maxentius in the center flanked by two attendants. It is difficult to accept this identification in the light of our knowledge of imperial iconography for this period. This would establish an unusual case where an attendant flanking the emperor turns his back to him. In my opinion, this group of figures represents, as also does the one farther to the right in this mosaic, high officials who direct the operation.

³⁷ H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, plates volume (Munich, 1958), pl. 103b.

³⁸ Deckers sees this scene as a separate unit not belonging to the procession. He reconstructs it as a symmetrical composition, although he himself describes the figure on the far right as having “Kopf und Körper leicht links zur Bildmitte gewendet” (*op. cit.*, 12–13; italics mine). He is also inclined to see the Augustus in the personage represented in the center of this scene as well as in the scene on the right of the niche; in the latter, even accompanied by a Caesar. He bases this identification on the elaborately decorated garments and on the frontality of two figures, which in my opinion is difficult to recognize. From the costumes alone, as Deckers himself admits, it is difficult to reach any conclusions (*op. cit.*, 25–28).

The plaster of the south wall west of the niche seems to have already been in very poor condition when Wilkinson visited Luxor. There is a detail, in his sketchbook, of a group of persons, shown only from the waist downward, that does not appear in the general view of the eastern half of the room (figs. II [color], 8). Monneret de Villard points out that they must have been in the western half, but says that "their exact location within the hall cannot be determined."³⁹ However, Ebers remarks, in his short description of the hall, that "die Figuren zur Rechten des Altars tragen schwarze Sammetschuhe."⁴⁰ With the help of this remark and a careful examination of the general view of the room, I have found that three feet can be recognized on the small portion of wall on the right side of the niche, in exactly the same position as the detail (figs. I, 7).⁴¹ The detail itself covers two pages (55–56) in the sketchbook, and I think indicates its position within the hall. At the left side of the picture there is a dark, wide border followed, on its left, by a blank space and a fine line, which indicates the beginning of the niche; this is the same technique followed in page 54 (fig. 14). To the right of these three dark feet another thin, vertical line suggests a break in the plaster, indicating that the following group is not as close as it appears in the painting. The general view of the room substantiates this, for at this point the Egyptian reliefs are visible, though not the group of legs and tunics (figs. I, 7).⁴²

Unfortunately, the scene is once again fragmentary, and it can only be suggested what it represented. The main group consists of at least seven figures, and seems to form another part of a procession. All the figures wear soft shoes, the *campagia*, in a variety of models, and richly decorated tunics and *paludamenta*. The large *segmenta* and borders of the tunics have elaborate designs. One of the figures carries the same kind of *baculus* seen before: he was most likely responsible for this part of the procession. The right side of this scene seems somewhat confused with respect to the feet and bodies, but I think that the arms of the two central figures are extended toward each other and covered by the piece of cloth decorated with a large medallion.⁴³ This would suggest the presence of an object large or heavy enough to require two people

³⁹ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 92.

⁴⁰ Ebers, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 1), 296. Since he believes the room to be a church, he calls the area of the niche an altar. The fragment can definitely be placed on the right side of the niche. Deckers, too, in his article has established the location of this fragment within the room. He uses a different source and quotes J. Sauer, who describes the then surviving fragment and places it on the right of the niche (Deckers, *op. cit.*, 13); see also J. Georg Herzog zu Sachsen, *Neue Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1930), 27.

⁴¹ Although not distinguishable on the reproduction, the original watercolors show clearly the location of three feet wearing *campagia*.

⁴² This, in my opinion, makes it even more difficult to accept Deckers' reconstruction of this scene as symmetrically composed. The fragment seems to be too far to the right on the wall to leave enough space for the other half of the scene.

⁴³ The figure farthest to the right in the photograph published by Sauer (cf. Deckers, *op. cit.*, pl. 7a, b) is clearly shown with the foot turned toward the right and not toward the left, as Wilkinson shows it. Even though Deckers seems to have recognized this (*op. cit.*, note 45 on page 14), he uses Wilkinson's sketch for his reconstruction of the scene. It is quite obvious also from the figure's dress and right arm and hand that only the right side and front of the figure can be represented: the *paludamentum* is fastened on the right shoulder. See also the description in Deckers, *op. cit.*, 14.

to carry it; examples of two or more people carrying objects together in public processions are not infrequent. Two people together, for instance, carry large torches or *thymiateria* on a relief of the *arcus Argentariorum*.⁴⁴ Usually, in processions larger objects like the spoils, the images of the gods, etc., were carried on a *ferculum* or litter, and perhaps some kind of arrangement like that is depicted here.

Besides marking the splendor of the dress and the solemnity of the occasion, this fragment on the south wall makes an interesting and problematic contribution to the program of the room. Both its parts—the three feet and the larger group of legs and tunics—move in a westerly direction, that is, in the same direction as the soldiers and the row of figures, but in this case away from the niche. Perhaps Monneret de Villard could not place this group because it defeated his expectation that the procession proceeded in two symmetrical files, converging in the niche. But why would the processions not converge in the niche? Wilkinson's sketchbook hints at an answer.

THE ADVENTUS AT LUXOR

THE WEST WALL

The lack of any pictorial record of the west wall sets the greatest problem to the interpretation of the painted chamber. Monneret de Villard suggested that the wall was probably entirely destroyed in Wilkinson's time,⁴⁵ and that this is the reason we have no record of it. However, an examination of Wilkinson's sketchbook calls this assumption in question. Page 53, the page following the general view of the north, east, and south walls, has been left blank, except for a small sketch of the dimensions of the room at the lower left corner and a light drawing of one of the *opus sectile* patterns at the top left (fig. 13). At the bottom of this page, Wilkinson has written a note, just as he has written identificatory notes on most of the pages containing watercolors. The note reads: "Mr. Monier told Mr. Harris that the name of 'Diocletian' was on one of the chariot wheels in this fresco."⁴⁶ In none of the scenes represented in Wilkinson's watercolors is there a chariot or even a chariot wheel. I assume then that "this fresco" refers to the west wall, which Wilkinson intended to draw, but never did. Though Wilkinson left a page for this fresco in his sketchbook, it should be added that, given the care with which he reproduced the rest of the chamber, there may well have been little to see on this wall.

The name of Diocletian would prove that both the remodeling and the frescoes were done roughly in the same period as the tetrastyle monument

⁴⁴ Alföldi, "Zeremoniell," 113, fig. 9.

⁴⁵ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 92.

⁴⁶ Above this note there is an additional one in pencil, referring to "Journal p. 81 of 1859 (1856-1860) of Taunton Museum." This reference is to the report of an excavation of Roman objects in Britain among which were parts of a belt similar to those depicted in the room at Luxor. Monneret de Villard dates the watercolors to 1859, presumably because of this note. There is no other indication of a date except on the cover of the manuscript which is labeled "XXXI No. 1852-56," and I presume that the watercolors were done at that time, during one of Wilkinson's journeys to Egypt. The Taunton note, which is in pencil, is clearly added later and indicates that it was made when Wilkinson had access to a library.

on the northeast side of the *castrum*, and of course all but proves that Diocletian himself was portrayed in the chariot. Even without this note, we could still surmise that the focal point or most important personage of the procession was missing. The frescoes are within a military camp in a former Egyptian temple, not in a villa of a private citizen. That is, they depict an important public event, as is made clear by the procession itself, the dress and attributes of its participants, and the veiled hands of some of them. But since the procession does not converge toward the niche, its focal point must be elsewhere in the frescoes, an argument that can be made on iconographic grounds as well (see *infra*, p. 250f.). What remains of the frescoes shows an honorary procession where, unfortunately, the person being honored is not preserved. But the mention of the chariot and Diocletian limits the number of events that might be depicted.

From the middle of the second century, imperial iconography had become restricted to a few rites and privileges, which were so closely associated with the deeds of the emperor as to become virtually imperial themes. The themes most often represented on imperial public monuments include the *adlocutio*, the *adventus*, the *profectio*, the *suovetaurilia* and the *vota publica*, the largesse or *liberalitas*, and the triumph. However, if the emperor was represented in a chariot on the west wall, there are only two of the group of imperial themes that would be appropriate: one is the *adventus* or *ingressus*, the other the triumph.

THE ROMAN *POMPA TRIUMPHALIS* AND *ADVENTUS*

The *pompa triumphalis* was the highest honor granted to a Roman: *neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos* (Liv., XXX.xv.12). It was the companion to the *lustratio*; the *lustratio* signified the opening of a military campaign, and the triumph commemorated its successful conclusion. It both honored the victorious general and presented the spoils and the captives. Its religious moments included the paying of the *vota* on the Capitoline Hill which had been taken before the departure for the campaign, and the cleansing of the army from the pollution of war. During the Empire, the triumph and its *pompa* became the privilege of the emperor alone, and it became a political means of exposing the emperor's glory and splendor.

The celebration of a triumph had originally been bound to a specific victory, but in the third century there was a tendency to connect it with the celebration of the years in office or of the appointment to consulship;⁴⁷ accordingly, its religious side receded and the glorification of the person of the emperor became its major function. At the anniversary celebrations, all the successes and victories of the period in office were celebrated. At Diocletian's *vicennalia* in Rome in 303, the *pompa* became a triumph *ex numerosis gentibus*;⁴⁸ even the Persian captives of Galerius' campaign marched in it. There are numerous descriptions in Roman literature.⁴⁹ The soldiers were dressed in full

⁴⁷ Alföldi, "Zeremoniell," 96.

⁴⁸ Merten, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 29), 11 note 36, 95.

⁴⁹ For references, see *ibid.*, 4-39, *passim*.

armor, carrying the standards of their legions and, as a sign of triumph, wearing laurel wreaths on their heads. The emperor was dressed in the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta*, which was purple and decorated with rich golden embroideries. He was seated in a golden *currus* drawn by white horses or even elephants, as Lactantius describes Diolecion's procession, a description attested by coinage⁵⁰ (fig. 20).

The *adventus*, on the other hand, commemorates the arrival of the emperor in a city and the welcoming celebrations that accompanied his entry. It is already well established in Greece in the early fifth century B.C., where it was accorded to kings or high dignitaries.⁵¹ In contrast to the triumph, it was not tied to religious rites.⁵² The emperor arriving with his army was received at the gate and welcomed by the citizens and the military dressed in white, carrying torches and flowers, singing official chants of welcome and acclamations, and burning incense and aromatic oils.

Though the *adventus* and triumph were not considered of equal dignity, in the course of the third century A.D., as the triumph lost its ties to specific military victories, the *adventus* came to be seen as a celebration of victory and acquired some of the aura of the triumph.⁵³ The *adventus* became one of the most familiar themes of the imperial propaganda. Coins were struck commemorating the happy and conclusive event, which presented at the same time the results of imperial activity. The numismatic iconographic motifs varied, but the most common one was the solitary horseman, who, in time, acquired companions: a *praecursor*, soldiers, and *signiferi* were added to allude to a real procession. In monumental art, where space was not a restricting factor, another iconographic type developed. It displayed not only the arriving emperor but also the group that welcomed him. The emperor, seated in a chariot, is seen arriving with his infantry and cavalry, and is greeted outside the gate by the people and the army of the city. In this complete form it is found on the relief on the arch of Galerius in Saloniki (fig. 21).⁵⁴

Which of these themes was portrayed at Luxor? There are problems with either choice, but only those connected with the triumph seem insurmountable. Most obviously, a triumph almost requires the city of Rome, or, if not the capital, at least the conqueror's birthplace. One example of a procession that took place outside the capital is represented on the arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna, dating from the early third century. There, one of the great

⁵⁰ Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, xvi.6 ff.; M. Bernhart, *Handbuch der Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), pl. 81. 7.

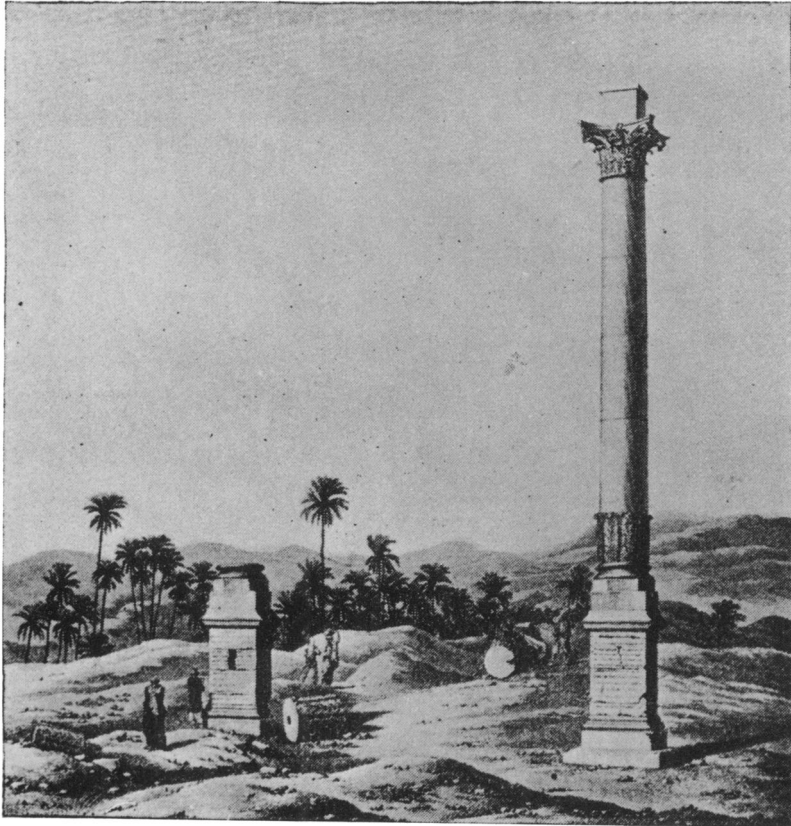
⁵¹ Alföldi, "Zeremoniell," 88.

⁵² Although sacrifices did take place after the reception ceremonies; *ibid.*, 92.

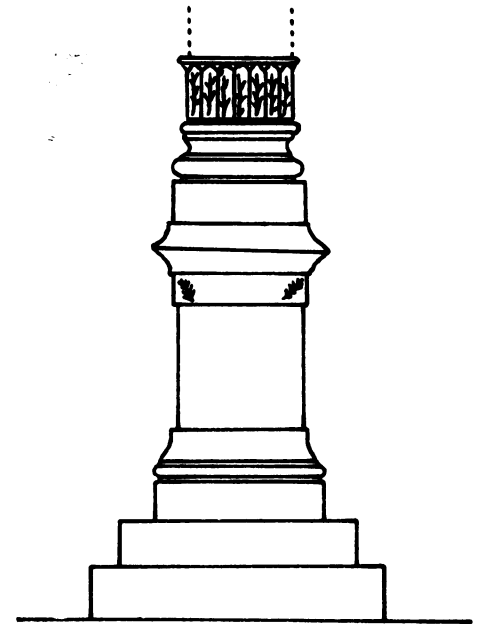
⁵³ R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14 (New Haven, 1963), 174; Merten, *op. cit.*, 54.

⁵⁴ Kinch, *op. cit.*, 21. Kinch's description of the group of welcoming citizens follows the literary tradition very closely:

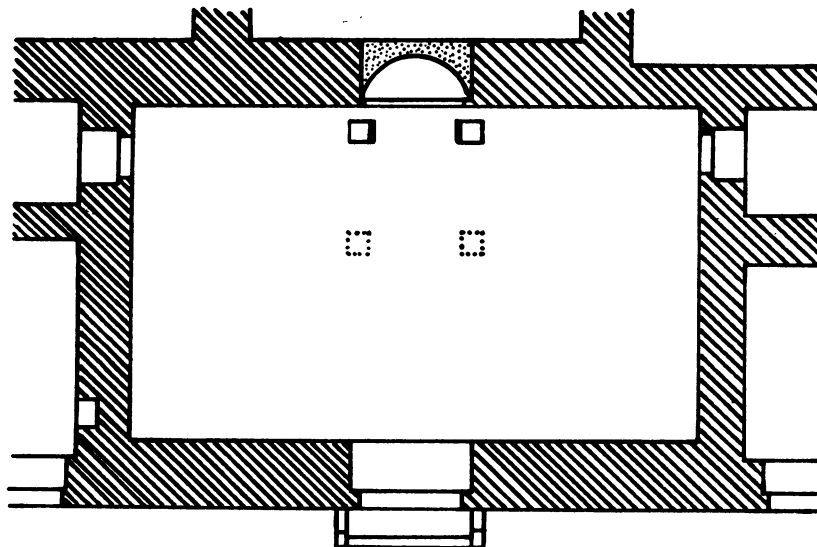
Les habitants de la ville sortent par la porte. Parmi les deux premiers l'un est vêtu d'un ample chiton . . . et d'un manteau. . . . A la main droite élevée il tient une fleur ou un bouquet qu'il tend vers l'empereur, à la gauche une petite torche. L'autre qui se tient au fond derrière lui, porte à la droite une torche plus grosse, le troisième, vêtu d'un costume gréco-romain, est également porteur de torche et de fleurs.



1. Antinoe, Tetrastyle



2. Luxor, Column Base, Reconstruction



0 10m

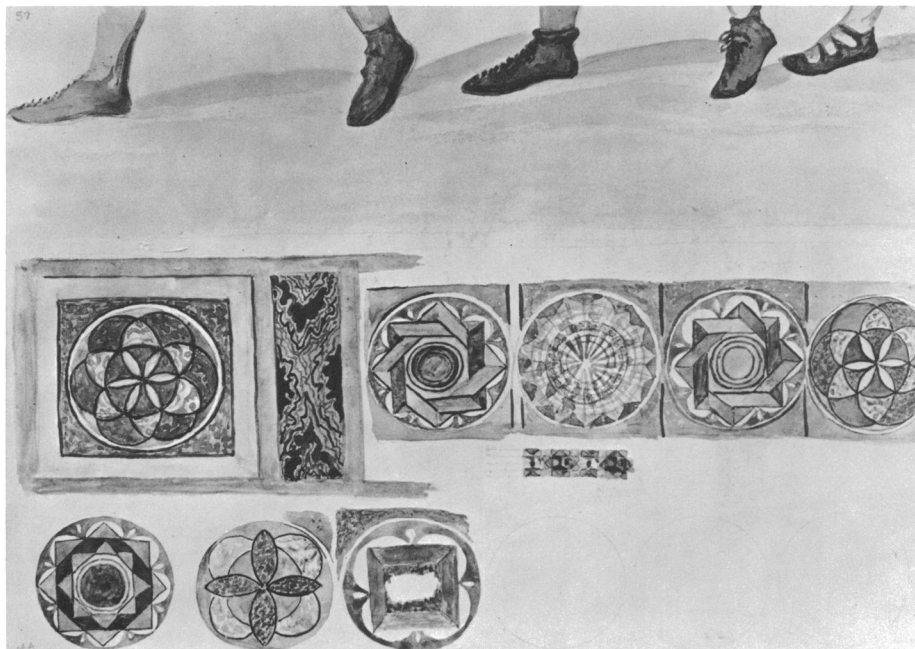
3. Luxor, Chamber, Floor Plan



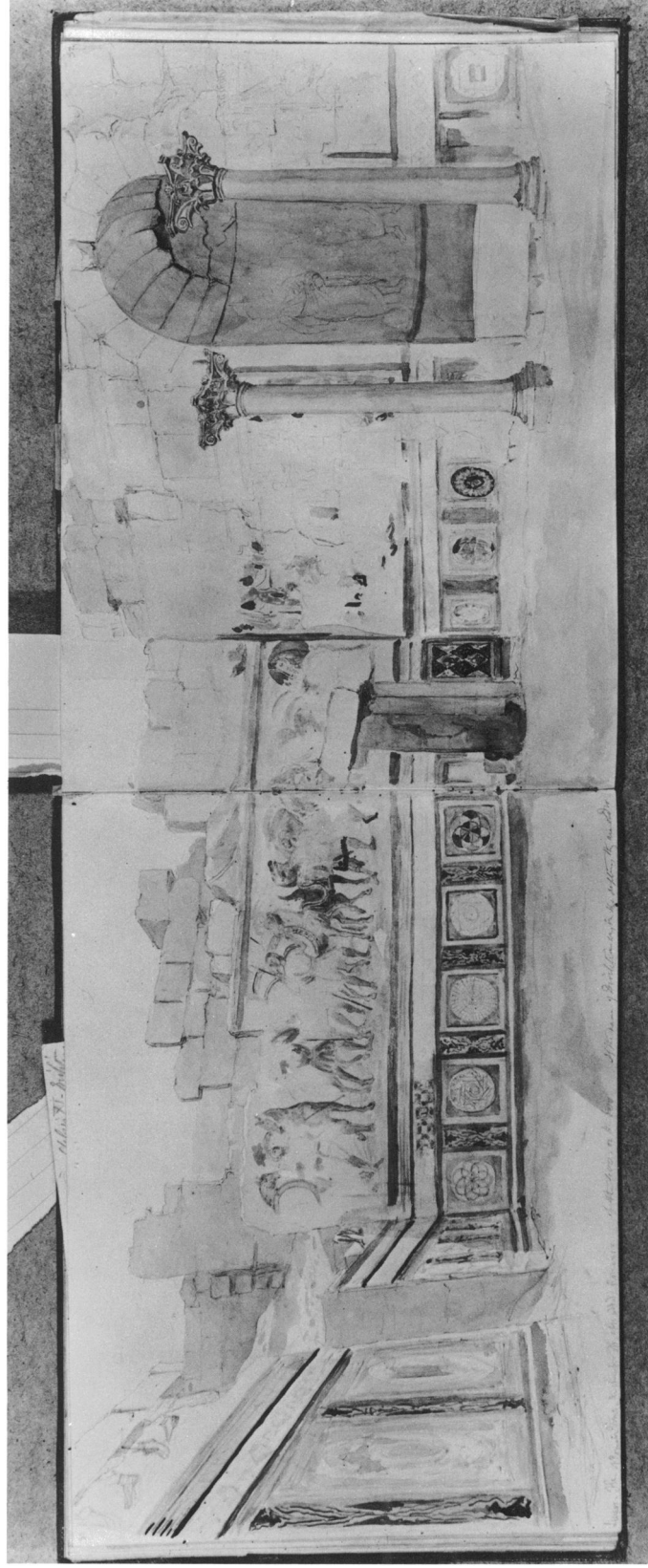
4. Luxor, Chamber, South Wall, Niche



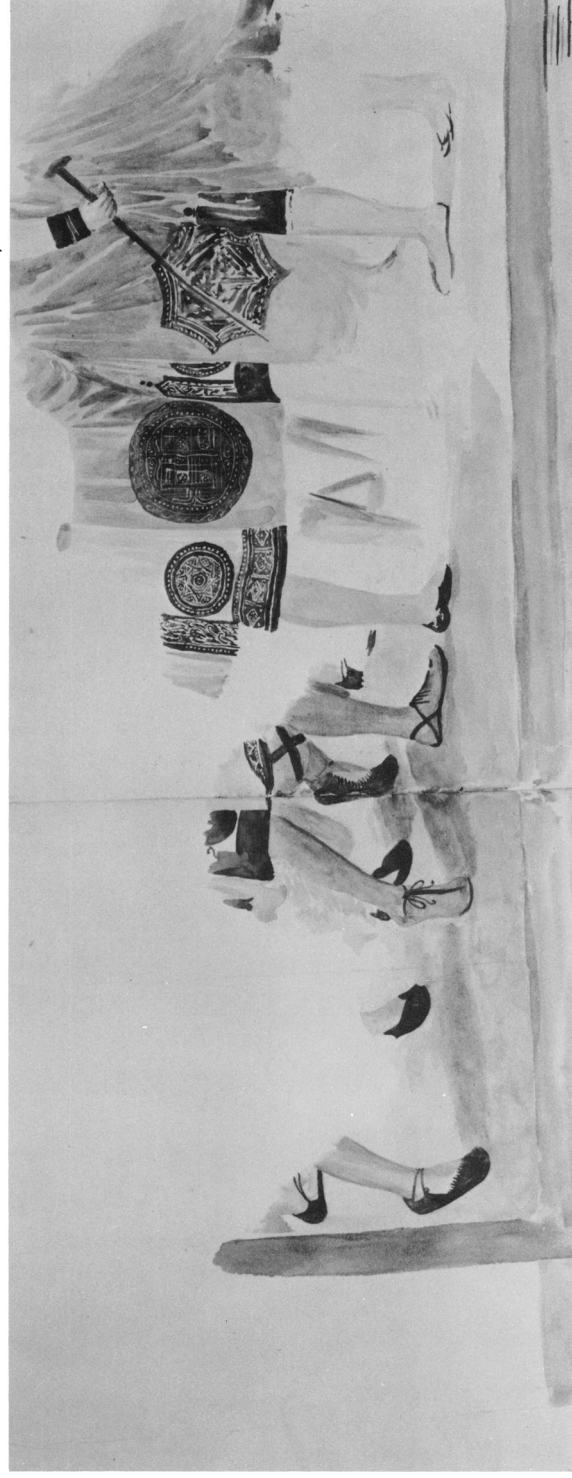
5. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Ivory of Empress Ariadne



6. Oxford, Griffith Institute, Wilkinson XXXI, page 57, Chamber,
North Wall. Feet and *Opus Sectile*



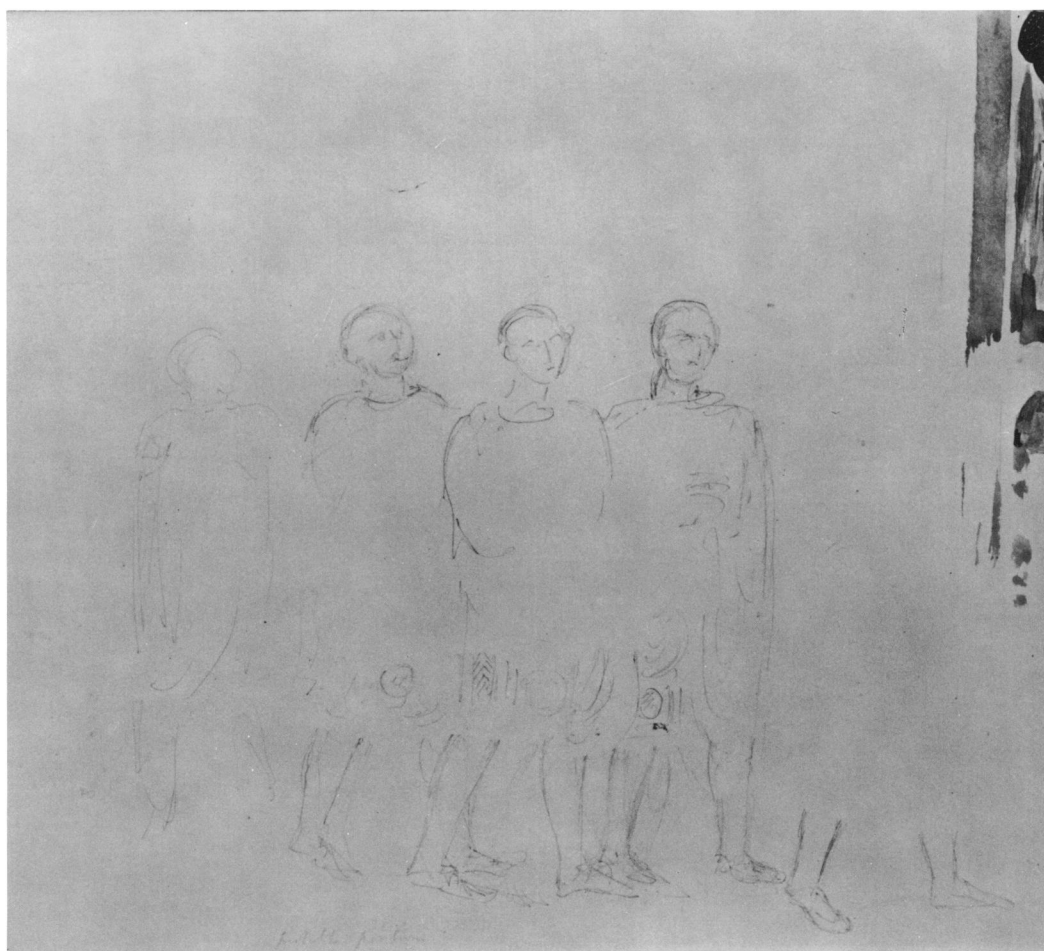
7. Pages 51-52, General View (see also color fig. I)



8. Pages 55-56, South Wall to right of Niche (see also color fig. II)



9. Page 62, East Wall, detail (see also color fig. III)



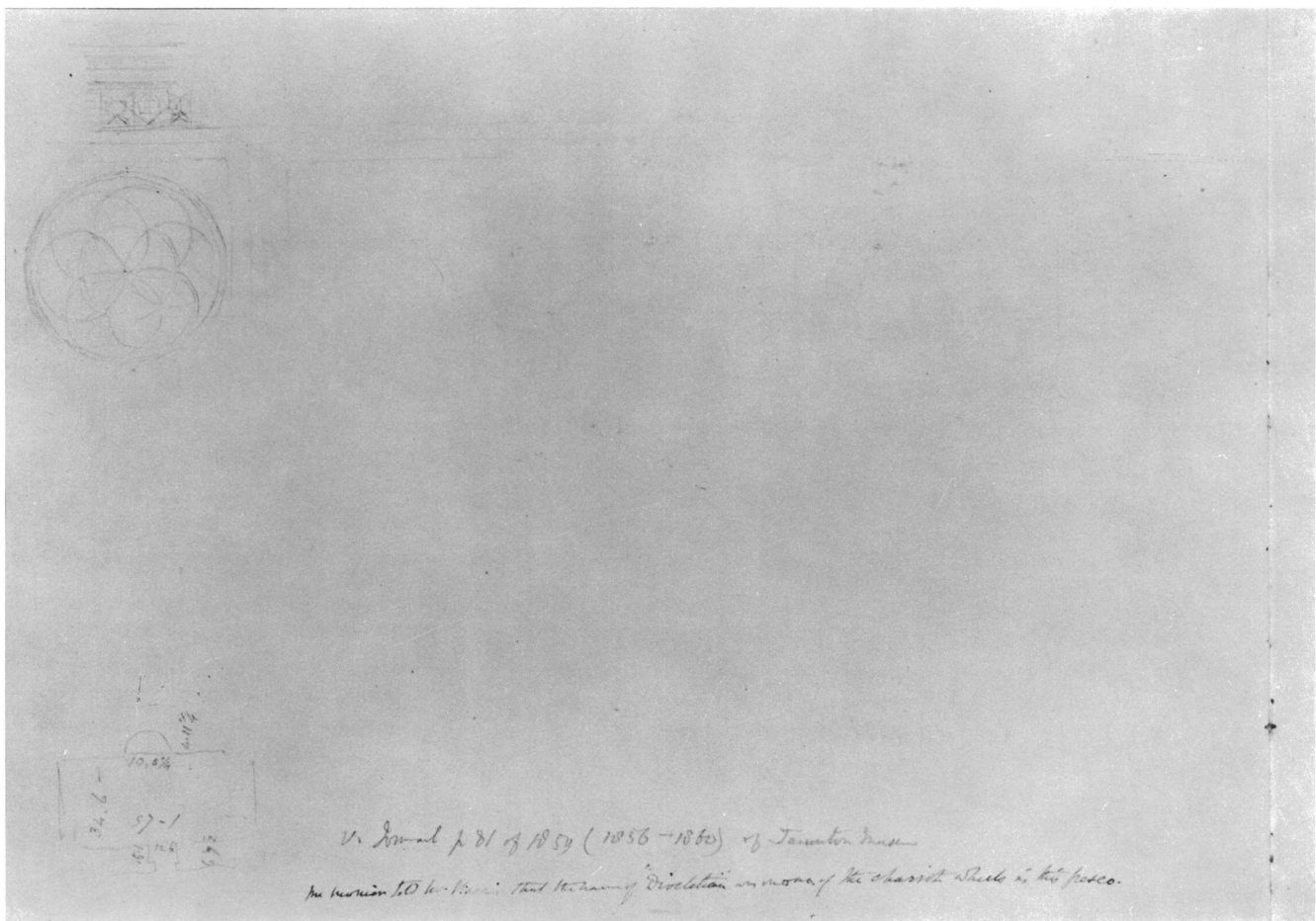
10. Page 59, South Wall. Figures in Lower Row, Drawing



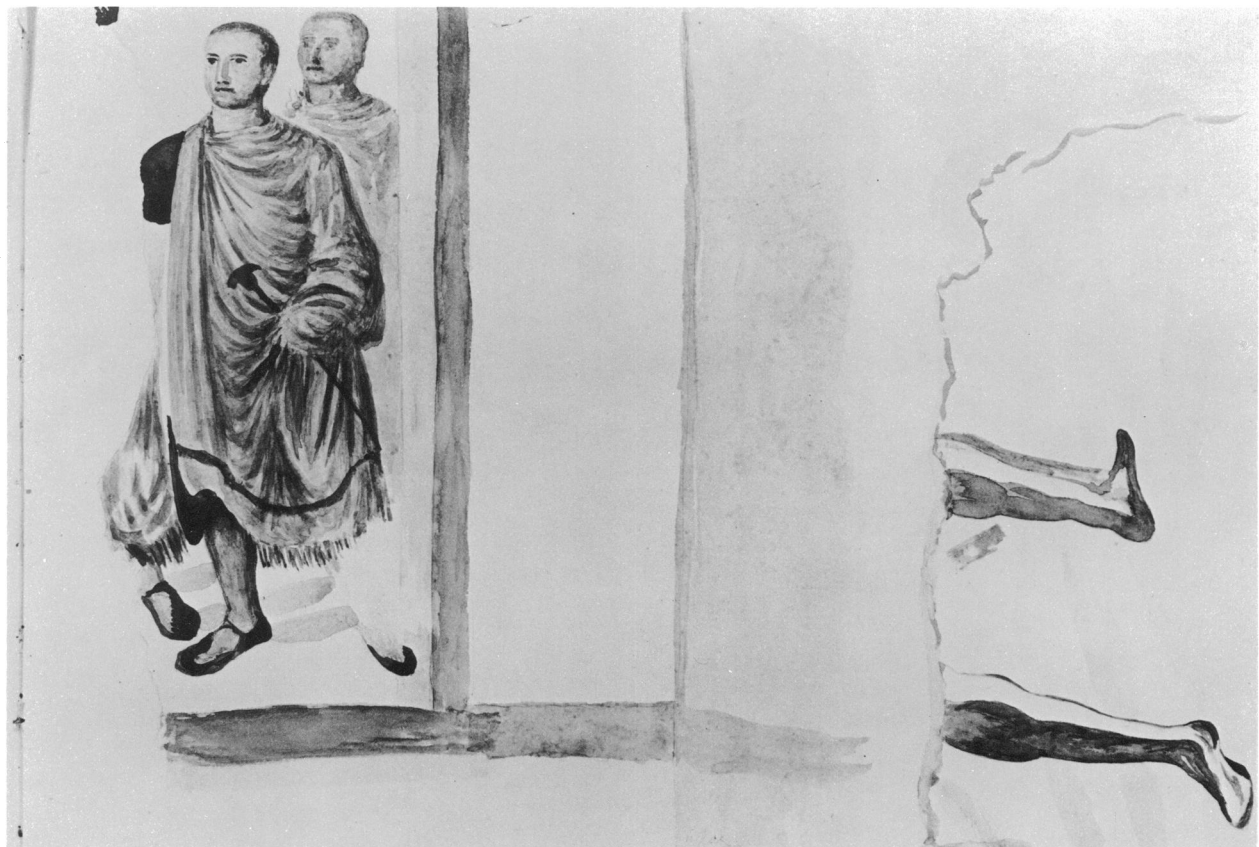
11. Page 58, South Wall, Niche. The Tetrarchs



12. Page 60: Left. South Wall, detail. Right. South Wall, Niche. Figure of Caesar at right (see also color fig. IV)



13. Page 53



14. Page 54: Left. South Wall to left of Niche, detail. Right. North Wall, detail of Legs

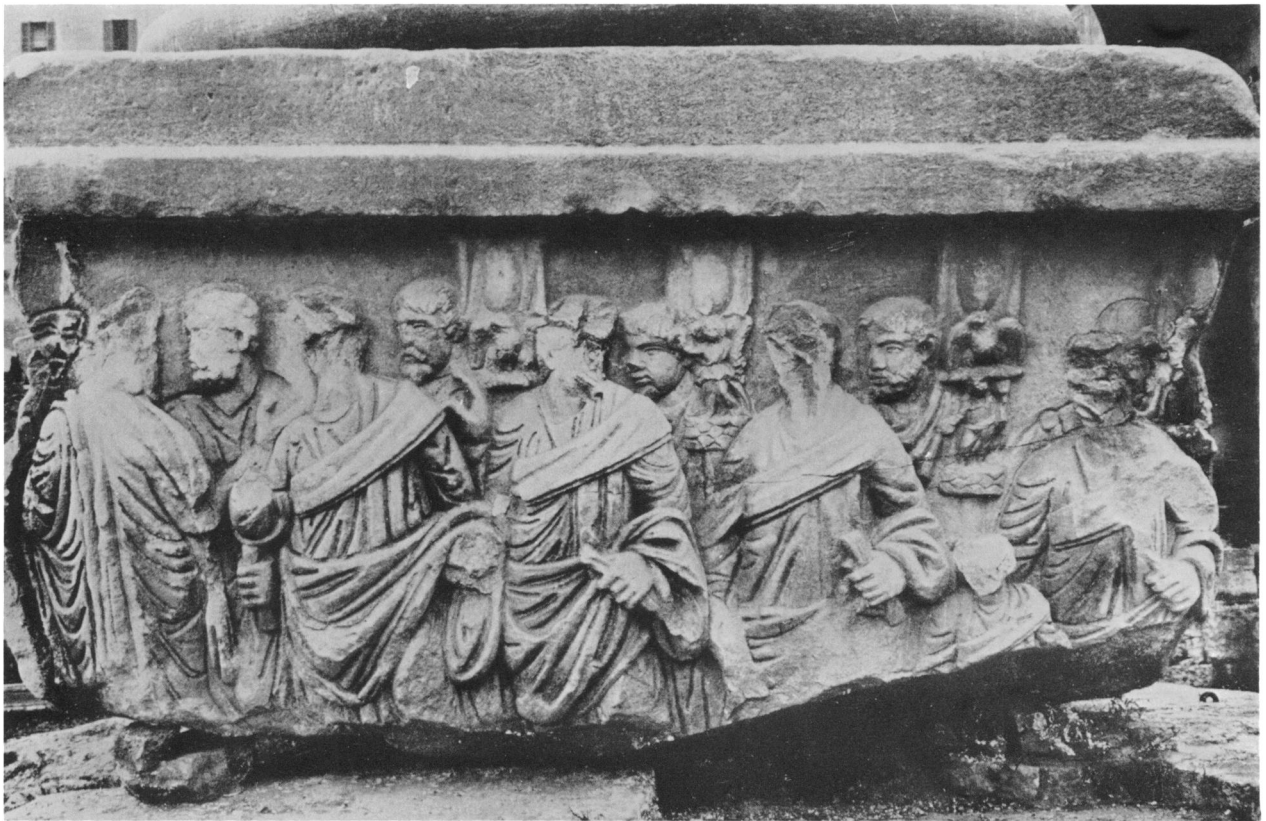


15.

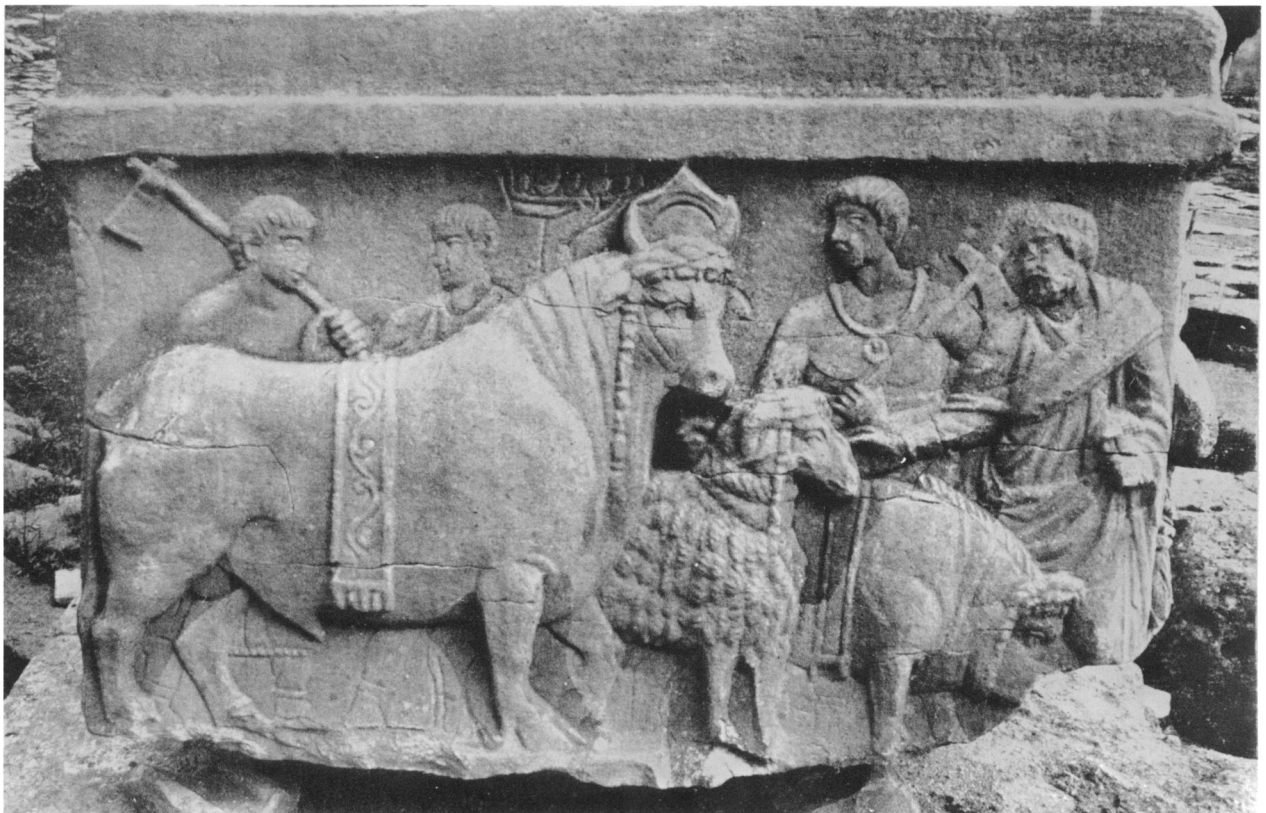


16.

Piazza Armerina. Mosaic of Great Hunt, details



17. Procession



18. Suovetaurilia

Rome, Decennial Base



19. Rome, Arch of Constantine, *Profectio*, detail



20. Berlin, Staatliches Münzkabinett, Aureus of Diocletian and Maximian



21. Saloniki, Arch of Galerius, *Adventus*



22. Formerly Evans Collection, Aureus of Constantius Chlorus



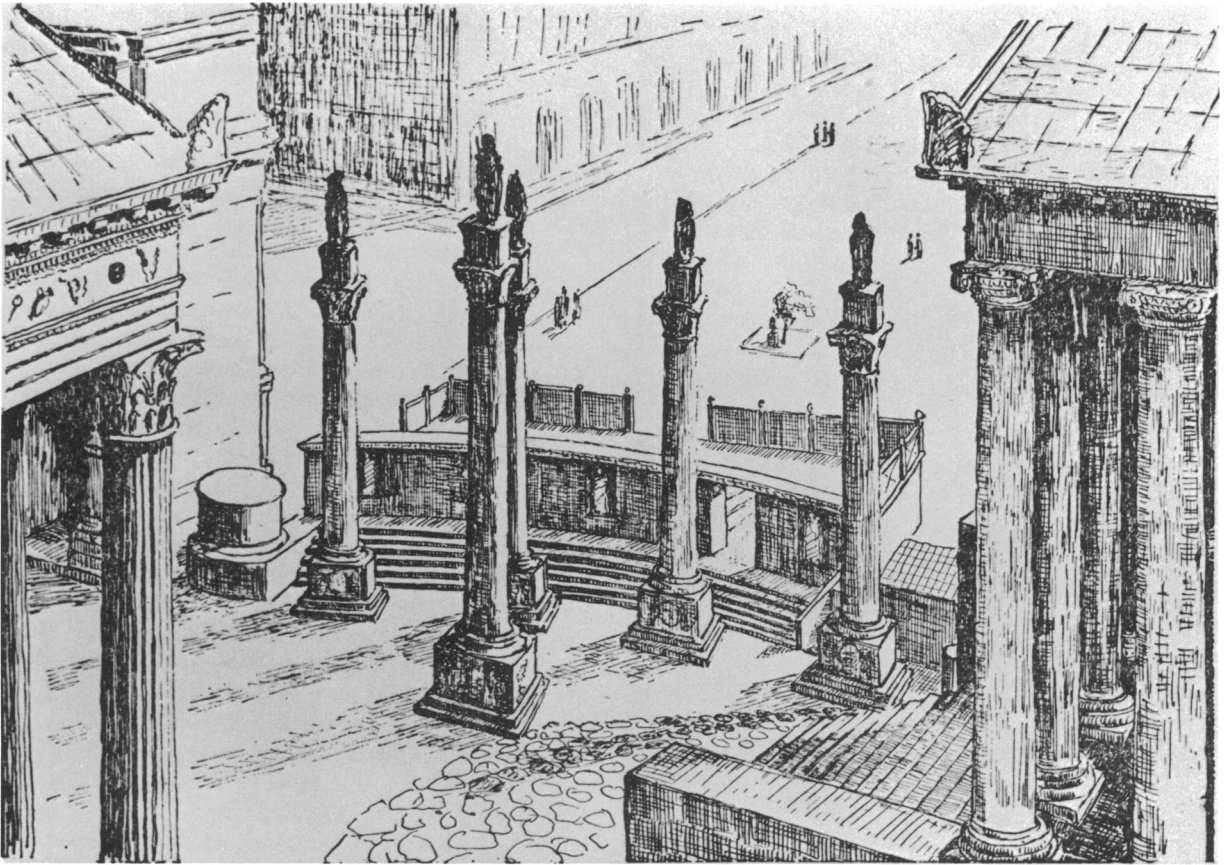
24. Budapest, Nationalmuseum, Aureus of Maximian



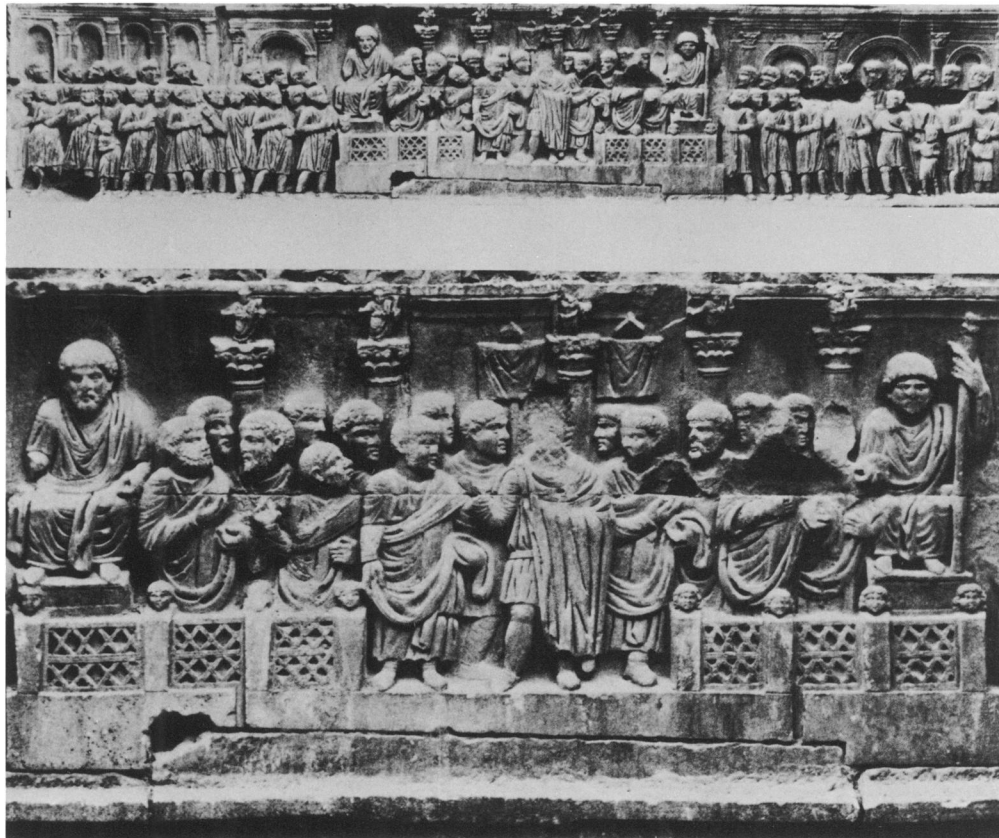
23. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Lead Medallion



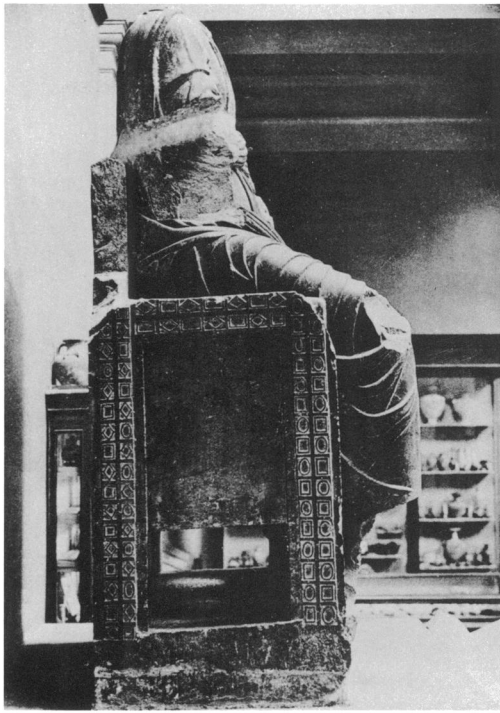
25. Munich, Münzkabinett, Aureus of Diocletian, Concordia



26. Vicennialia Monument, Reconstruction



27. Arch of Constantine, *Adlocutio*, detail



28. Alexandria, Museum, Porphyry Statue of "Diocletian"



29. Piazza Armerina, Audience Hall, Apse

reliefs of the attic shows, as Jocelyn Toynbee acutely remarks, "the solemn reception of Septimius with his empress and sons...in the guise of a Roman triumph."⁵⁵ Lepcis Magna, of course, was the birthplace of Septimius, so that this triumph can be considered a return home. Further, as has been noted, the triumph was a rare event, celebrated most often at ten- and twenty-year anniversaries, and therefore, quite naturally, celebrated only in the most important cities. A further iconographic detail is significant: at the triumph, the soldiers dressed in full armor, while for the *adventus* they were dressed, as we see at Luxor, in white.⁵⁶ However, the *adventus* celebrated a specific historical event; to find out what that event might have been, it will be necessary to make a short excursion into the history of Roman Egypt.

DIOCLETIAN IN EGYPT

Rebellion broke out in Egypt in the last decade of the third century.⁵⁷ The revolt began most probably in Upper Egypt in July of 296, spreading from Coptos and Busiris to Alexandria.⁵⁸ The alarming events of that summer, on the heels of the turbulence Diocletian's monetary reforms wrought in Egypt, made it necessary for the Emperor to intervene personally. In Alexandria, Lucius Domitius Domitianus was declared emperor; he struck coins that interrupt Diocletian's after 295/96. As Eutropius reports (*Breviarium*, ix.23), the back of the usurpation was broken after eight months, and broken severely; the *corrector* Aurelius Achilleus and many of his followers lost their lives:⁵⁹ *Diocletianus obsessum Alexandriae Achilleum octavo fere mense superavit eumque interfecit. Victoria acerbe usus est; totam Aegyptum gravibus proscriptionibus caedibusque foedavit.*

Having put an end to the rebellion, Diocletian remained in Egypt for some time to reorganize the country. An edict survives from the *praefectus Aegypti*, dated 16 March 297, providing for the execution of the new tax laws.⁶⁰ This document gives both a date for the reorganization of Egypt and a *terminus ante quem* for the suppression of the revolt. Diocletian divided Egypt into three provinces, Thebais, Aegyptus Jovia, and Aegyptus Herculeia, extending to Egypt the general administrative reforms which reduced the size of the provinces in the interest of creating more efficient government and in order to contain the power of provincial governors. As Eutropius goes on to say, Diocletian *ordinavit provide multa et disposuit, quae ad nostram aetatem manent.*

⁵⁵ J. M. C. Toynbee, "Picture-language in Roman Art and Coinage," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), 207.

⁵⁶ Merten, *op. cit.*, 49.

⁵⁷ The traditional view that there were two revolts has been challenged by W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, BEFAR, 162 (Paris, 1946), 137-59; for the bibliography on the controversy, see J. Lallemand, *Aegyptus*, 33 (1953), 98 note 2.

⁵⁸ Seston, *op. cit.*, 143.

⁵⁹ For the identification of Aurelius Achilleus, known to us only through the literary tradition, see Seston, *loc. cit.*; and *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus*, ed. A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie (Ann Arbor, 1960), 17-20.

⁶⁰ *RE*, 7A², s.v. "Valerius [Diocletianus]," col. 2442.

Procopius tells us that Diocletian visited the southern borders of Egypt, in order to reestablish the borders between the Empire and the barbarians.⁶¹ He surrendered part of upper Egypt to the barbarians, hoping, in vain, to forestall further raids into the Empire's richer agricultural lands. Hence Diocletian not only went to Egypt to suppress the revolt, but spent some time there straightening out its political situation. His activities in Egypt lessen the chances that a triumph was pictured on the walls of Luxor, for *bella civilia* were not considered appropriate for a triumph, and in those cases where an emperor celebrated such an event with a *pompa*, he was generally criticized.⁶²

THE KOMASIA

It thus seems most likely that an *adventus* was portrayed at Luxor, and there are in Egypt from the third and fourth century historical records referring to a special celebration of the *adventus*. This celebration developed out of an ancient religious procession where the sacred images of the Egyptian gods payed honorary visits to one another. Later, the Pharaohs too received this honor, and the gods were carried out of the temples to greet them on their visits.⁶³ In Hellenistic times, this celebration where the images of the gods were carried was called a *κωμασία*. This tradition continued into the Roman period and seems to have found a place in the Roman army.⁶⁴ In A.D. 215, when Septimius Heraclitus, the prefect of Egypt, honored the city of Arsinoe with his visit, a *komasia* was organized and the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus carried out of the temple to greet his arrival.⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶ In this case it was not a king but a representative of the emperor who was honored. Such processions are often found mentioned on papyri because they record payments and lists of necessary preparations. People were often hired to carry the different images: ἐργάταις κ[ωμά]σασι τὸ ξόανον τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς [ἀ]πάντη[σιν τοῦ] ἡγεμόνος and στεφάνω[ν τῶ] αὐτῷ ξοάνω. In several cases we find a *strategos* organizing a *komasia*. In an edict from Memphis, issued on the appointment of C. Julius Maximus as Caesar in 232,

⁶¹ *Bell. Pers.*, I.xix.28-29, trans. H. B. Dewing, Loeb, I (London, 1914), 185-87:

From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow..., while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their own habitations, and to settle along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied.

⁶² Merten, *op. cit.*, 32-37.

⁶³ U. Wilcken, "Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen," *Hermes*, 20 (1885), 468.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, "Υπομνηματισμοί," *Philologus*, 53 (1894), 91; S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose," *SOsl*, 10 (1932), 45.

⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶ Wilcken, "Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen," 468-69.

a general is requested both to organize and take part in a *komasia*: χρή τιμιώτατε τὰς θεᾶς κωμάζεσθαι. ἴν' [ο]ῦν εἰδῆς καὶ παρατύχης (here the papyrus breaks off).⁶⁷ In another instance we hear that ὁ στρατηγὸς πρὸς τῷ λογιστῇ[ρίῳ . . . ποιησάμενος περὶ δέιλῃν [. . . παρέτυχεν κωμασίᾳ ἐξ ἑθ[ους ἀγομέ]νῃ Ἰσιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης . . . Ἀ[νέ-γνω]ν⁶⁸. Herodian records a procession similar to the eastern *komasia* in the West. When Maximus arrived in Aquileia after the defeat of Maximinus in 238, the north Italic towns sent embassies who came out to meet him: οἱ λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ δαφνηφόροι θεῶν πατρίων ἕκαστοι προσεκόμιζον ἀγάλματα.⁶⁹

From these and other surviving fragments, the *komasia* can be described as a festive procession to celebrate the arrival of a high official, such as a prefect, or of members of the imperial family. Townships as well as the military apparently organized *komasiai*. This procession celebrates the same kind of event as an *adventus*, and in the same way; the two processions have little to distinguish them, and thus would be easily merged in the heterogeneous world of the Roman Empire. This little difference has to do with the transport of images, which, while it no doubt often played a part in the *adventus*, was not central to it. The *komasia*, however, began as a procession in which the gods were brought out of their temples, and the public display of the sacred images remained an intrinsic part of the procession itself.

I would like to suggest that the processional scenes in the painted hall at Luxor represent this special type of *adventus* performed in Diolectian's honor. We know that Diocletian spent some time in Egypt during and after the revolt of 296/97. It seems likely that he must have visited Luxor, which was turned into a military camp about this time. Further, as Lacau points out, Coptos, which "était la tête de route pour les caravanes venant de la Mer Rouge et la clef du commerce avec l'Orient,"⁷⁰ had been destroyed in the revolt. Luxor was the next city nearest to the head of this route, and may well have been the base from which Diocletian directed his activities in Egypt. There was no better and more secure place to use as an imperial residence than a large military camp, strategically located. During this period, incidentally, the imperial residence was often designated *castra* as well as *palatium*, for both mobility and security were its prerequisites.

It is now possible to hazard a more informed guess as to the objects carried in the procession. These are, besides the censers, torches, and flowers normally carried at an *adventus*, statues of the gods, probably the military gods, carried on silver poles by those with veiled hands. At the front of the procession, on the south wall west of the niche, there are at least two people carrying a large object on a *ferculum*; this may have been a larger statue of Jupiter, the Emperor's personal god, who was being carried out to greet the Emperor, just as Ammon, the Egyptian equivalent of Jupiter, had earlier come out to greet the Pharaohs.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, Ὑπομνηματισμοί, 91.

⁶⁸ U. Wilcken and L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, 2 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), 41, IV, 14 (3rd cent. A.D.).

⁶⁹ Herodian, VIII.vii.2, Loeb, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), 294.

⁷⁰ Lacau, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), 44.

THE CONCORD OF THE EMPERORS

THE TETRARCHS IN THE NICHE

Directly opposite the entrance, in the center of the south wall is the remodeled niche with the ciborium in front of it. The niche was covered with plaster and painted with frescoes at the same time as was the wall. In Wilkinson's general view the four figures which occupy it are only sketched in, but they are given in greater detail on pages 58 and 60 (figs. IV, 11, 12). It is a group of four standing figures, of which the third from the left has been deliberately erased, and is lightly sketched in Wilkinson's as well as von Bissing's drawings.⁷¹ The two figures on the left and the erased third figure are given on page 60. All are dressed in purple gowns, have yellow halos, and stand in front of a light blue background. Lacau was the first to point out that these figures could not be saints, but looked like Roman emperors, and could well represent the first or the second Tetrarchy.⁷² Monneret de Villard took up this suggestion, and, because of the deliberately erased figure and the presence of the Diocletianic tetrastyle, showed that the four had to be emperors of the first Tetrarchy, the two Augusti Diocletian and Maximian in the center, and the two Caesars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus on the sides.⁷³ The figure erased in antiquity must have represented Maximian, who was officially subjected to a *damnatio memoriae* under Constantine. We read in Lactantius that *eodemque tempore senis Maximiani statuæ Constantini iussu revellebantur et imagines ubicumque pictus esset, detrahebantur* (*De mort. persec.*, XLII.1). The figures stand well above the lowest point of the niche, so that inscriptions might have been set under them.

The second figure from the left, identified by Monneret de Villard as Diocletian, is carrying a light blue globe in his left hand and a long golden scepter in his right. Both objects were, by the end of the third century, long-established attributes of the emperor. The *globus* had become since Caesar and Augustus the symbol of the emperor's universal rule.⁷⁴ There are many iconographical variations of the globe in connection with the emperor, but most often he holds it in his hand as the attribute of the *rector orbis*. When there is a coemperor, both together hold the globe, symbolizing their communal reign. Geta holds it with Caracalla and Valerianus with Gallienus.⁷⁵ But during the third century, the globe in the hand of the sovereign seems to have lost its original meaning as the symbol of the kosmos and to have developed into a simple attribute, so that sometimes the theoretical impossibility of its duplication is overlooked, and it is found as an attribute of the second Augustus and even of the Caesar.⁷⁶ It became an insignia of imperial rank which could be multiplied as desired. During the Tetrarchy, there are representations of all

⁷¹ Von Bissing, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 1), fig. 1.

⁷² Lacau, *op. cit.*, 46.

⁷³ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 101.

⁷⁴ Alföldi, "Insignien" (*supra*, note 20), 117.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 118, pl. 8.11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

four Tetrarchs together, where each carries a globe in his hand, and where the globe serves merely to identify them as emperors and to suggest their equality. The long scepter held by Diocletian had also gone through a long tradition of imperial iconography. In a tradition often represented in Roman art, Jupiter hands down the globe and scepter to the emperor. But the scepter had been used so often that it had lost some of its value, so that, as an insignia of imperial authority, it was carried not only in connection with the toga, but also with the military dress.⁷⁷

Although the globe and the long scepter were the attributes of Jupiter, whom Diocletian had as his *deus patrius*, I do not agree with Monneret de Villard that, because of these attributes, Diocletian is shown here in an exceptional way, as a "cult statue" or an "object of worship," differing from all other known representations of Diocletian where he is shown "in human form."⁷⁸ In this period, Maximian and even the Caesar carried these same attributes in accordance with the image of the emperor. What I think led Monneret de Villard to believe that these representations were unusual in the sense that the Emperors were represented as gods or, as he puts it, "in divine guise,"⁷⁹ was the combination of the nimbus and the somewhat unexpected dress.

The figures are not dressed with the *paludamentum* but in *graeca vestis*. It became traditional for the emperor to wear the Greek *pallium* and the *crepidae* when he was visiting the eastern parts of the empire, as a mark of honor toward the indigenous population.⁸⁰ Tacitus says that when Germanicus was in Egypt, he went about *pari cum Graecis amictu* (*Ann.* II, LIX), and Suetonius reports that Tiberius in Rhodes *redegit se depositu patrio habitu ad pallium et crepidas* (*Tib.*, XI.1). That this was the customary dress of the Greek philosopher, which in Christian art became the garment worn by the saints, helps to explain the earlier interpretations of the room. Both Diocletian and the two Caesars wear the *pallium*, though the garments of the Caesars have been draped in a different manner, thrown over the shoulder with the back brought across the front and wrapped around the left forearm. The two Caesars are almost identical in dress and posture, and both seem to have the short scepter in their left hands. The Caesar on the right, in my opinion, wears not boots, as Monneret de Villard suggests, but high-laced sandals.

The best preserved figures have nimbi surrounding their heads; presumably all four had them. The emperor was represented more often with the ray-spiked diadem than with the nimbus, the solid disk of light, though the significance of both was the same. The solid disk was not only an attribute of the solar deities but a general symbol for all divinity. As an attribute of mortal rulers, the nimbus first appears in the East on Indian kings of the first and second century A.D. It appears sporadically in the West in the second and the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 115-16.

⁷⁸ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 102.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; also Deckers, *op. cit.*, 21-23, in whose opinion the emperors in the niche are represented as if in a theophany (p. 23).

⁸⁰ Alföldi, "Insignien," 150-51.

beginning of the third centuries.⁸¹ Antoninus Pius is represented on a coin wearing a nimbus combined with rays, and Geta and Septimius Severus have nimbi on two *aurei*.⁸² With the Tetrarchy the nimbus reappears as the symbol of the emperor's divine nature. An *aureus* of Constantius Chlorus, bearing on the reverse the legend TEMPORUM FELICITAS CAESS XIII COSS V, shows the two Caesars Galerius and Constantius, both nimbed, sacrificing in front of a temple (fig. 22). The coin, bearing the mark of the mint of Trier, was struck to commemorate their consulship of 1 January 305.⁸³ A lead medallion now in Paris, found near Lyons, was probably the proof of a reverse of a large gold medallion struck after 296 but before 305⁸⁴ (fig. 23); it bears the legend SAECULI FELICITAS and represents two emperors seated, facing right, and bearing the nimbus. They have been identified as Maximianus Herculus and Constantius Chlorus. The legends FL RENVUS and MOGONTIACUM have made it possible to identify the scene: Maximian and Constantine are receiving homage from the Germanic tribes located in the area of the Rhine.⁸⁵ It is worth noting that all three of the examples from the Tetrarchy, the two coins and the niche at Luxor, are productions of the provinces.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NICHE IN THE LIGHT OF OTHER TETRARCHIC MONUMENTS

Other monuments help to explain the significance of the iconography of the niche. The most famous among them are the two porphyry groups, one in the Vatican, the other in Venice.⁸⁶ In both monuments the Tetrarchs are grouped into two pairs, the Augusti and the younger Caesars, and in both they embrace each other. All four figures in both monuments are of the same size, and all wear identical military dress. No distinction is made between them except that the Augusti are shown older and have a severe expression, while the Caesars are younger and friendlier, a distinction made only to establish their relative imperial rank. The statues express the concept of *similitudo* which was embodied in Diocletian's policy stressing the equality between the emperors. The gesture of the embrace is also a symbol of the harmonious cooperation and concord between the rulers of the Empire.⁸⁷

⁸¹ For references, see A. Krücke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der Christlichen Kunst*, Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, 35 (Strasbourg, 1905); H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354*, Institut Français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 55 (Paris, 1953), 148 note 5; *RE*, 17 (Stuttgart, 1937), s.v. "Nimbus," col. 622.

⁸² Antoninus Pius: H. Cohen, *Description historique des médailles frappées sous l'empire romain*, II (Paris, 1892), 301, No. 318; Geta, *RBN* (1902), pl. viii.10; Septimius Severus on horseback in front of Geta: Bernhart, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 50), pl. 13.1.

⁸³ Stern, *op. cit.*, 148.

⁸⁴ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York, 1944), 67; Stern, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁸⁵ Stern, *op. cit.*, 149; see also A. Alföldi, "Die Donaubücke Konstantins des Grossen und verwandte historische Darstellungen auf spätrömischen Münzen," *ZN*, 36 (1926), 167, pl. xi.4, and *idem*, "Insignien," 144-45.

⁸⁶ R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrywerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), pls. 31, 32, 35.

⁸⁷ Mamertinus, in the third panegyric to Maximian (6.3), says: "what centuries have ever seen a like concordia in the summit of power? Which brothers, which twins respect each other's equal rights to an undivided inheritance as much as you in the administration of the Roman world?" And further (*ibid.*, 7.1-7): "the immortal gods cannot divide between you their benefactions, all that befalls to one of you belongs to you both..."; cf. E. Galletier, *Panegyriques latins* (Paris, 1949), 55-56, 56-57. For this reference I would like to thank Mr. James Nelson Carder.

The *concordia* which was the basis of the new system of government under the Tetrarchy is expressed in other monuments. The monument erected in the Roman Forum in 303 to celebrate the *vicennalia* of the Emperors consisted of five tall columns carrying the portrait statues of the Tetrarchs in the front row, one next to the other, and the statue of Jupiter in the center and somewhat behind them, as the patron god of Diocletian and thus the assistant in their leadership⁸⁸ (fig. 26). The placing of the images of the Emperors next to one another expresses here, too, their concord and equality.⁸⁹ This monument is known to us through the *adlocutio* relief on the arch of Constantine where it appears in the background (fig. 27). All four figures are shown clad in classical togas, holding scepters in their hands; their identical dress underlines their uniformity. Kähler has located parts of three of the four Tetrarchs from the original monument:⁹⁰ two large fragments of over-life-size porphyry figures clad in classical togas, and a porphyry statue which is in very good condition save that the head, forearms, and feet are missing. The monument stood behind the Rostra in the Forum near the old temple of Concordia, the goddess of imperial unanimity and harmony, which was rededicated by Augustus in A.D. 10.⁹¹ It was erected in gratitude to Concordia on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of imperial unanimity, which had succeeded, after years of turbulence, in the reestablishment of harmony in the Roman Empire. According to Kähler, this particular spot was considered the center of the capital, whose Empire was governed by all four Emperors together.⁹² The tetrastyle erected on the east side of the camp in Luxor might be symbolically interpreted in the same way, for all four Emperors are seen together at the crossing point of the two roads.

The theme of *concordia* was also displayed at Diocletian's palace at Spalato. On the main gate, the so-called Porta Aurea, there stood five statues on high pedestals, once again the four Emperors with Jupiter at the center.⁹³ A monument was set up in front of the temple of Hadrian in Ephesus⁹⁴ not by the Tetrarchs but, like the tetrastyle at Luxor, in their honor. Three statue bases have been found in their original location; the fourth, that of Maximian, was replaced by a statue of Theodosius.⁹⁵ The inscriptions on the bases established

⁸⁸ L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal" (*supra*, note 27), 1-34.

⁸⁹ References in H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft, 19 (Paderborn, 1934), 23 ff. Literary sources attest to the symbolic meaning of this iconography. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De ceremoniis*, I.87, Bonn [1829], I, p. 395) that the imperial images placed together were a ceremonial demonstration of the imperial *concordia*: καὶ διελάλησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥστε πεμφθῆναι τὰ λαυρεῶτα εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας κοινῇ ἀνατίθεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βασιλεύσιν. In Zosimus (Bonn [1837], IV.37) we read: Θεοδόσιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετό τε βασιλέα Μάξιμον εἶναι, καὶ εἰκόνων αὐτῶν κοινωνεῖν καὶ βασιλέως προσηγορίας ἡξίου. Also Lactantius, *De mort. pers.*, XLIII.3: *fit amicitia, utriusque imagines simul locantur*.

⁹⁰ H. Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal für die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum*, MAR, 3 (Cologne, 1964), 11.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁹³ G. Niemann, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato* (Vienna, 1910), 24.

⁹⁴ F. Miltner, "XXII. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesus," *ÖJh*, 44 (1959), 266.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 266-67. At this time, I would like to point out that in each of the monuments mentioned above a figure is lacking, presumably that of Maximian; in the monument at Ephesus this is certain because of the inscriptions. It seems likely that in every case, including Luxor, the figure was destroyed in antiquity, following the *damnatio memoriae* of Maximian. For the location of the bases, see also Deckers' discussion, *op. cit.*, 19 note 64.

the arrangement of the group: standing from left to right were Galerius, Maximian, Diocletian, and Constantius.⁹⁶ This interlocking arrangement manifests the *concordia imperatorum*, for the Caesar of the East is connected with the Emperor of the West, and the Emperor of the East with the Caesar of the West. Kähler suggests that the same interlocking arrangement might have been used in the other monuments expressing the theme of the imperial collegiality, and I would like to include the niche at Luxor in this category.⁹⁷ This claim must, of course, remain a suggestion, but it is clear that the figures in the niche embody the ideal of the Tetrarchy, the ideal of the mutual understanding and collaboration between the rulers of the Empire, used extensively in all the various forms of their political propaganda.

As to Maximian, Monneret de Villard wonders whether he might have been portrayed "with a victory upon an orb in one hand and bearing the two attributes of Hercules, the lion-skin and the club." But he says that the "state of the picture after its erasure prevents verification."⁹⁸ The question is whether Maximian was portrayed as Herculus, or whether the two Augusti were represented in the theme of *similitudo*.⁹⁹ The attributes of the emperors' theocratic claims usually appear only when one emperor is portrayed by himself. In a few cases, the two emperors are portrayed together as Herculus and Jovius, as on the reverse of a coin of Maximian (fig. 24).¹⁰⁰ Here, however, they do not hold the attributes of the gods; both are dressed identically, seated on the *sella curulis*, and each holds a globe. The legend reads PERPETUA CONCORDIA AUGG. Jupiter and Hercules appear on the left and right, crowning the Augusti; that is, the distinction between the Emperors is established through the appearance of their personal gods, but not in their persons. The evidence garnered from coinage and monumental art suggests strongly that when the two Augusti are shown together, they are identical in dress, posture, and attributes. To the evidence adduced already, I might add a coin with the head of Diocletian on the obverse, and the two Augusti on the reverse (fig. 25).¹⁰¹ Once again, both Augusti are seated on the *sella curulis*, facing the same direction, dressed identically, both holding a globe in the right hand and the *parazonium* or short scepter in the left; the legend reads CONCORDIAE AUGG NN. Thus, I presume that in the niche at Luxor the two Augusti were represented identically.

CONCLUSION

What function the painted chamber served within the Diocletianic camp is still an open question; the answer may lie in the correct interpretation of the ciborium and the niche behind it. Monneret de Villard vacillates in his inter-

⁹⁶ Miltner, *op. cit.*, 267.

⁹⁷ Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 7.

⁹⁸ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 101; Deckers (*op. cit.*, 17 note 54) suggests also a representation of Maximian with the club and the lion skin.

⁹⁹ There are frequent examples of the theme of *similitudo* also in coinage; see some examples in Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pls. III.15, 16, IV.1, 2, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Alföldi, "Insignien," pl. 10.11 (Budapest, National Museum).

¹⁰¹ Bernhart, *op. cit.*, pl. 19.3.

pretation of the room. He first proposes that the room was "in reality the *sacellum* of the legionary insignia, the sanctuary for the *genius castrorum* and for sacrifice to the emperor," a conclusion drawn in part because "an apse is a common feature of such *sacella*."¹⁰² But then he is unable to explain the presence of the ciborium, for this, he says, would be a unique instance in a *sacellum*, and he therefore suggests that the painted hall was "predominantly the temple of the imperial cult."¹⁰³ This he induces for a number of reasons, but the "key," as he calls it, is the religious character of the paintings in the niche. Under the ciborium, were the room a temple of the imperial cult, he would like to place the *genius* of the emperor.¹⁰⁴ I should like to suggest an alternative, that the ciborium housed nothing less than the throne of Diocletian himself, and the room was his throne room or audience hall. Of course, both a throne room and a temple were sacred places, since the emperor's presence, in person or in image, honored any room. But the hypothesis that the painted hall served as an audience chamber puts the evidence from Luxor together more satisfactorily and accords as well with what is known about Tetrarchic art.

I have indicated before the length of Diocletian's stay in Egypt, and have suggested that he might have used Luxor as a base for his Egyptian activities. It would not have been unnatural for the Emperor whose *deus patrius* was Jupiter to convert the temple of Ammon, the Egyptian equivalent of Jupiter, into his own throne room. Architectural modifications accentuated the position of the hall within its Egyptian surroundings. The floor within the hall was raised, and the hypostyle hall in front of it made into a connecting chamber through which a broad passage led, over newly installed steps, into the raised hall.¹⁰⁵ The alterations directed attention to the new additions in the hall, the ciborium and the niche. The hypostyle hall thus became a kind of antechamber or formal approach to the throne room, adding expanse to a room that otherwise might have seemed somewhat small for an audience hall.¹⁰⁶

By the time of the Tetrarchy, the throne with the ciborium above it had become a necessary feature of an imperial audience hall.¹⁰⁷ The ciborium at Luxor is quite large, sufficiently large to accommodate the imperial throne. As mentioned before, the columns of the ciborium are of a reddish-pink granite, chosen probably to suggest the imperial purple. Small steps were added to the

¹⁰² Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁰⁵ During the reign of Alexander the Great, the second of the inner chambers on the same central axis was converted into his birth chamber, thus establishing his divine origin as the son of Ammon-Re. This room was originally used as the resting place for the sacred bark of Ammon when it was brought from Karnak on the Feast of Opet. Originally, it had four columns in the center, under which the bark was placed. Later, the columns were removed and a shrine was built in the center of the chamber: cf. Vandier, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 13), 846-48; A. Badaway, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* (Berkeley, 1968), 230. For this information I would like to thank Professor Robert Alexander. See also Ch. Picard, "Le trône vide d'Alexandre et le culte du trône vide," *CahArch*, 7 (1954), 17, who suggests a widely spread cult of the empty throne during the Ptolemaic period in Egypt.

¹⁰⁶ It was from this chamber that the divinity would appear, surrounded by his court, at the doorway. It is for this reason that the hypostyle hall in front of it was called by the Egyptians the Hall of Appearances.

¹⁰⁷ Alföldi, "Insignien," 127

inner faces of the bases, and might have been fittings for a platform on top of which the throne would have stood. The throne itself was probably of the type represented on the porphyry statue in Alexandria known as "Diocletian" which, according to Alföldi, may be the earliest example in monumental art of the throne of an emperor (fig. 28).¹⁰⁸

Architecturally, it was a common procedure for the emperor to be placed either in or in front of a niche, lending his figure a sacred aura.¹⁰⁹ The large throne room in the villa at Piazza Armerina has an arrangement in this regard very similar to that at Luxor. Within the large apse, a smaller niche was constructed in the center of the wall at approximately five feet above floor level, as was the niche at Luxor.¹¹⁰ The floor was decorated in *opus sectile*, of which a part still exists in the apse itself. Traces of it are also preserved by the impressions left from the marble paneling on the plaster of the lower parts of the walls (fig. 29).¹¹¹ The pattern of the *opus sectile* on the central axis of the apse creates a large square in front of the niche. At each corner within this square there is a small circle with an outlined square. It seems to me that this pattern on the floor marks distinctly the position of the throne within the ciborium. The clearly defined corners are the places on which the ciborium rested, perhaps in this case a portable one, so that here, as at Luxor, we have the throne enclosed in a ciborium and placed in front of a raised niche.¹¹² L'Orange¹¹³ has suggested that the niche behind the throne contained a large bust of Hercules, Maximian's *deus patrius*, of which parts have been found. Here, in what is often considered his private villa, Maximian sat before the divine source of his power; at Luxor, Diocletian sat in front of the austere figures of the Tetrarchs, the public symbol of the concord of the Roman Empire.

This difference may mark the distinction between a public and a private audience chamber. At any rate, the public quality of the iconographic program at Luxor relates very well to other Tetrarchic monuments. It can be compared to the arch of Galerius which commemorates his campaign undertaken in 297 against Narses, a campaign which took place while Diocletian was in Egypt and caused his sudden departure in order to go to the aid of Galerius. On the arch two types of scene are carefully distinguished: the narrative or historical, and the panegyric or symbolic. The same distinction was made, three-dimensionally, on the *vicennalia* monument in the Roman Forum. The processions and sacrifices, the historical events that took place at the celebration, were portrayed on the column bases, while on top of the tall columns set upon them were the four Emperors and their guiding god, Jupiter. At Luxor we have seen that the figures of the procession around the walls have no direct iconographic relationship with the niche. The procession is not directed at the niche, which

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 129, 133.

¹¹⁰ Kähler, *Piazza Armerina* (*supra*, note 36), fig. 2.

¹¹¹ N. Neuerburg, "Some Considerations on the Architecture of the Imperial Villa of Piazza Armerina," *Marsyas*, 8 (1957-59), 24.

¹¹² Deckers (*op. cit.*, 25 note 100) suggests also a throne under a ciborium in the apse at Piazza Armerina.

¹¹³ L'Orange, "Nuovo contributo" (*supra*, note 35), 100; also Kähler, *Piazza Armerina*, 18.

has to be regarded as an independent iconographic unity, connected rather with the ciborium in front of it. The narrative event is represented on the walls, and the symbolic portrayal of the Emperors in the niche. These figures are not bound by either dress or action to any specific moment in time; they stand identified by their insignia in the center of attention, representing the Tetrarchy in its unity and magnitude, a reminder perhaps most timely in a province that had shortly before revolted against that Empire.

Dumbarton Oaks